DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 409 460 CE 074 418

AUTHOR	Nolan, Robert E., Comp.; Chelesvig, Heath, Comp.
TITLE	Annual Adult Education Research Conference Proceedings (38th, Stillwater, Oklahoma, May 16-18, 1997).
INSTITUTION	Oklahoma State Univ., Stillwater. School of Occupational and Adult Education.
REPORT NO	ISSN-1088-6524
PUB DATE	May 97
NOTE	307p.
AVAILABLE FROM	College of Education, 204 Willard Hall, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK 74078 ($20 plus postage).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC13 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Basic Education; *Adult Education; Adult Educators; Adult Learning; Adult Literacy; Adult Programs; Autobiographies; Black Education; Context Effect; Continuing Education; Corporate Education; Critical Thinking; Cross Cultural Studies; Cultural Pluralism; Decision Making; Distance Education; Educational Environment; *Educational Practices; *Educational Research; Educational Theories; Epistemology; Experiential Learning; Extension Education; Foreign Countries; Graduate Study; High School Equivalency Programs; Higher Education; Hispanic Americans; Internet; Job Performance; Literacy Education; Models; Nonformal Education; Organizational Development; Politics of Education; Residential Programs; Role of Education; School Holding Power; Sexual Identity; Small Businesses; Social Change; Teacher Student Relationship; *Theory Practice Relationship; Total Quality Management; Whites; Womens Education
IDENTIFIERS	African Americans; China; General Educational Development Tests; Hungary; Japan; Malaysia; Maslow (Abraham); Mexico; Oklahoma; Pennsylvania

ABSTRACT

The following are among 50 papers included: "The Politics of Planning Culturally Relevant AIDS Education for African-American Women" (Archie-Booker); "Developing White Consciousness through a Transformative Learning Process" (Barlas); "Executive Businesswomen's Learning in the Context of Organizational Culture" (Bierma); "The Myth of the Universal Adult Educator" (Brown); "Interactions in Distance Education" (Burnham, Walden); "Women's Experience of Academic Collaboration" (Clark, Watson); "Measurement of Participation in Adult Education" (Collins, Brick, Kim); "Learning Strategies in the Corporate Setting" (Conti, Kolody, Schneider); "Learning within a Social Movement" (Cunningham, Curry); "Commonwealth of Pennsylvania's GED (General Educational Development) Graduates' Progress" (Dean); "Orchestration of Learning Style Differences and Other Variables in an Action Learning Experience" (Dilworth); "An Exploratory Study of the Social and Personal Dynamics that Deter Underserved Women from Participating in Adult Education Activities" (Hall, Donaldson); "Researching Professional Practice" (Donaldson, Kuhne); "Critical Thinking, Developmental Learning, and Adaptive Flexibility in Organizational Leaders" (Duchesne); "Participant Perceptions of Residential Learning" (Fleming); "Identification of the

Workplace Basic Skills Necessary for Effective Job Performance by Entry-Level Workers in Small Businesses in Oklahoma" (Harris); "Participation and Retention Factors Relating to Black Reentry Graduate and Undergraduate Women in the College of Education" (Johnson-Bailey, Brown); "Factors that Affect the Epistemology of Group Learning" (Marsick, Kasl); "Radical Pedagogy in Action" (Kaufmann); "How Adult Experience as a Supervising Decision-Maker Can Inhibit Learning" (Lauderdale); "Academic vs. Integrated Functional-Context Literacy Programs" (Martin); "Voluntary Organizations and Nonformal Adult Education in Hungary" (Pandak); "A Sociocultural Perspective of Knowing" (Reybold); "Knowledge as 'Quality Non-Conformance'" (Schied et al.); "A Replication Study of the Attitudes of Selected Academics and Decision-Makers towards Adult Students" (Smeby, Sisco); "The Effectiveness of Total Quality Management" (Smith, Lewis); "Doing Cross-Cultural Research in Adult Education" (Sparks); "Adult Education On-Line" (Spencer); "Synergic Inquiry" (Tang); "Implicit Memory and Transformative Learning Theory" (Taylor); "Innovation as Knowledge and Learning" (Taylor); "Teaching across Borders" (Tisdell, Perry); and "Beyond Disciplinary Consumption in Program Planning Classes" (Wilson, Cervero). (MN)

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38th
Annual
Adult Education Research Conference

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 16 - 18, 1997

Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Sponsored by

Oklahoma State University
College of Education
School of Occupational and Adult Education
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38th Annual Adult Education
Research Conference

Proceedings

May 16-18, 1997
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Papers Compiled by
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(405)744-9190

Library of Congress No.
ISSN 1088-6524

1997

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Dear AERC Participants:

On behalf of the local arrangements committee, welcome to Oklahoma State University and Stillwater. We are delighted to have the opportunity to host the 38th Annual Adult Education Research Conference. Special thanks for the planning and implementation of the local arrangements go to Tom Collins, Vice President for Research and Dean of the Graduate College; Ann Candler Lotven, Dean of the College of Education and Greg Bowes, Head of the School of Occupational and Adult Education. Without their real, financial support we could not have hosted this conference.

The local planning committee was composed of Greg Bowes, Bob Nolan, and Heath Chelesvig from Occupational and Adult Education; Billy Chambers, and Glenna Williams from Cooperative Extension; Timm Bliss, Brenda Bose, and Brenda Soloman from Education Extension, Irene Karpiak from the University of Oklahoma and Larry Keene from the Oklahoma Department of Vocational Technical Education. This committee has been meeting to plan the conference since January, 1996. Needless to say, we are all very excited about your being here to share your expertise and insights related to adult education and learning.

In addition, local arrangements for this conference are the result of the dedicated labor of graduate students who volunteered their time and energy to make the conference enjoyable physically as well as intellectually. Special thanks are due to Shirley Dolins and Geneva Warren who coordinated the volunteer effort. Thanks also to Sandra Vigil, David Nagle, Ralph Spencer, Susan Miller, Joe Loving, Jiping Zhang, Janie Bretanus, Yahya Mat Som, Jacqueline Malone, Martha Olsen, Monique Miles, Regina Robertson, Harlan Ballard, Jean Byers, Jan Jones, Debbie Blanke, Cheryl Stanley, Carolyn Brown, Brenda Dorsey and Pauline Harris.

Volunteers can be identified by their name tags. Please impose upon them to make your stay at Oklahoma State University as enjoyable as possible.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Nolan

Robert Nolan, Program Chair

Bringing Dreams to Life
The Campaign for OSU

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

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Stillwater, Oklahoma 74078-4033
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May 16, 1997

Dear AERC Participants:

Faculty and students in the School of Occupational and Adult Education and our entire College of Education welcome you to our campus. We are pleased to have this opportunity to showcase the work and spirit of adult education researchers from across North America and around the globe.

We are embarking upon a new era for our College; one which is built upon the cornerstone of collegial scholarship. We believe that our recently remodeled home, Willard Hall, illustrates our commitment to renewal and growth. Your individual effort to that growth, through your papers at AERC and participation in academic critique, helps us move forward.

Thank you for sharing your expertise and experiences with colleagues and faculty from OSU and Oklahoma. I am confident that learning about our research and program development will be equally valuable.

The success of this conference is due to many collaborators. In addition to the national steering committee, I would like to recognize Professor Robert Nolan's leadership in this venture. Dr. Nolan's initiative brought the 38th Adult Education Research Conference to OSU. The local planning committee has labored diligently to organize a high quality conference. Support from the university wide Office of Research has added to our resource base and our ability to add some important "extras" for conference participants.

Our most important challenge is to create knowledge and stimulate academic discourse about that knowledge. Welcome to a conference which promises a rich opportunity for growth and renewal. This is at the foundation of our vision for the College of Education at OSU. We are pleased to be partners with you in this work.

We hope you enjoy your stay at OSU, in Stillwater and in Oklahoma.

Cordially,

Ann Candler Lotven

Ann Candler Lotven, Dean
College of Education

ACL/kp

Bringing Dreams to Life
The Campaign for OSU

Dear AERC Participants

May 16, 1997

Welcome to the 38th Annual Adult Education Research Conference. The 1996-97 Steering Committee in collaboration with Oklahoma State University planned what we think will be an excellent conference both in the quality of the papers and in the design/process of the conference itself.

AERC is a unique conference where adult educators from all over the world come to share their research. The conference is meant to be an opportunity to engage with theory and practice in new and exciting ways. It also fosters professional collaboration among scholars and students who generate research and utilize research findings in adult education. Historically AERC is one of the most prestigious adult education conferences to which researchers can present. The focus has been on innovative research methodologies as well as substantive findings that can further the field of knowledge. In the pages that follow, some of the finest research going on in the area of adult education will be presented in summary form.

Each year the Adult Education Research Conference is hosted by a university willing to volunteer its space and time. Since AERC is a North American Conference, every two or three years, the conference is held in Canada. This year the Steering committee adjudicated papers for both AERC and the International Conference at the University of London in July. The impact that North American adult educators are having world wide is significant.

To the many student and staff volunteers at Oklahoma State who have worked hard to make this AERC a special experience for all participants, we extend our thanks. We hope you will have a stimulating and rewarding experience dialoguing with new and old colleagues on the growing proliferation of adult education research.

AERC Steering Committee

Sue M. Scott	1995-97	University of Alberta
Ian Baptiste	1996-97	National-Louis University Chicago
Jovita M. Ross-Gordon	1996-98	St. Edward's University
Libby Tisdell	1996-98	Antioch University Seattle

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The Politics Of Planning Culturally Relevant AIDS Prevention Education For African-American Women

D. Elaine Archie-Booker

Abstract: AIDS cases are growing faster among African-American women than for any other ethnicity-gender group. Until a vaccine or cure is available, education offers the primary means to control AIDS. In this paper, I examine a community-based AIDS education provider to determine to what extent were their programs culturally relevant for African-American Women.

Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) has become one of the major public health threats in the United States since it first appeared in 1981. The early profile of persons infected with HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus), the virus that causes AIDS, was restricted almost entirely to gay and bisexual men. Because men accounted for most cases of AIDS over the first ten years of the epidemic, much of the medical and educational focus had been on the manner in which the disease spreads in men. During this first decade, little attention was directed to the HIV is spread with respect to women because many researchers thought that the epidemic might bypass them. By the early 1990's AIDS cases in the United States were rising more rapidly among women than among any other group (Kalichman, Kelly, Hunter, Murphy, & Tyler, 1993). Most strikingly, AIDS cases are now growing faster among African-American women than for any other ethnicity-gender group (Jenkins, 1992) and constitute 52% of the total AIDS cases among women (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1992). In contrast to gay men, African-American women acquire HIV infection primarily through intravenous drug use and through sexual contact with men who use intravenous drugs (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1996).

Education offers the primary means by which HIV infection can be controlled. Educational programs for African-American women, however, have simply not been successful, as evidenced by the tremendous increase of the disease in this group. This has been attributed largely to the lack of cultural relevancy of these educational efforts (Mays, 1989; Nyamathi, 1990). Most AIDS prevention programs for African-American women fail to account for the large number of socio-cultural influences that are pervasive in the African-American community. These prevention programs have ignored the sexual politics and social inequalities that often exist in the relationships of African-American women (Wingood, Gamble, & DiClemente, 1993). Community-based organizations have served as the primary setting for providing HIV risk reduction interventions, including adult education for populations at risk for contracting the virus. If these educational providers are to be successful, they need to offer programs that are culturally-relevant for the populations they serve. The problem addressed by this study, is that there is no clear empirical evidence to explain why providers of adult education are failing to provide culturally relevant programs for African-American women.

In order to address this problem, I examined the ways in which a large community-based AIDS service organization in the Southeast, referred to in this paper as AIDS Community Services (ACS), attempts to reach African-American women through educational programming. The mission statement of the agency is "to foster and participate in a broad, compassionate response to the Human Immunodeficiency Virus epidemic through advocacy, service, and education" (cited in the ACS annual report). Given the explosion of HIV infection among African-American women in the agency's service area, it would be expected that its adult education programs would be focused on effectively reaching this population. Thus, the study was guided by two research questions: 1) To what extent are the educational programs offered by ACS culturally-relevant for African-American women, and 2) What social and organizational factors in the program planning process influence whether these programs are culturally-relevant?

Related Literature and Theoretical Framework

Researchers have identified several factors that should be considered when designing AIDS prevention programs for African-American women. Several studies have reported that disenfranchised African-American women, the group at highest risk for HIV infection, are the least capable of negotiating safer sexual practices with their male partners about wearing a condom (Jenkins, 1992; Worth, 1990). Another factor in the sexual politics of African-American women is that many "believe that the practice of birth control, condoms included, is a method of genocide promoted by whites. Those individuals who practice any form of birth control may be viewed as not being loyal to the development of the African-American community" (Mays & Cochran, 1993, p. 149).

Ladson-Billings (1992) provides the theoretical basis for understanding the relationship between culture and teaching. The concept of "culturally relevant teaching" means that the education is designed to fit the culture of persons as the basis for helping them understand themselves and others, to structure social interactions, and to conceptualize knowledge. For this study, culturally relevant education is understood as a pedagogy of opposition that encourage social change by recognizing and celebrating African and African-American culture with the primary goal of empowering people to examine critically the society in which they live (Ladson-Billings, 1992).

Several studies suggested factors that can be used to determine the culturally relevancy of AIDS prevention programs: 1) the race and gender of the message carrier, 2) incorporating the issues and underlying beliefs of a given population into the educational program, 3) the methods used to deliver the educational message and 4) the location and availability of programs.

In addition to examining educational programs for cultural relevance, this study also sought to understand the social and organizational conditions out of which these programs are planned. The framework for examining the planning process comes from Cervero and Wilson (1994, 1996), who argue that program planning is a social activity in which adult educators negotiate interests in social and organizational contexts structured by power relationships.

Methods

The overall research design was a qualitative case study. The unit of analysis was AIDS Community Services (ACS) educational programs and planning processes. It has a staff of more than 90 trained professionals whose work is complemented by the contributions of more than 1,800 volunteers and an operating budget of $3.6 million.

The multiple sources of evidence used to gain a holistic understanding of education at ACS included interviews, document analysis, and participant observation at three major educational programs. A total of 12 semi-structured interviews were conducted at the organizational setting.

In addition, I was also a participant observer in three major AIDS prevention programs. A wealth of ACS documents and records were also examined including the curriculum for AIDS 101, the curriculum for the HIP seminar, and many brochures, annual reports and statistical data records.

The data were analyzed throughout the data collection process and subsequent to it. The first phase focused on assessing the overall educational effort at ACS to determine the cultural relevancy of its AIDS prevention programs. In the second phase, the constant comparative method was used to identify factors in the social and organizational context of the planning process that affected the cultural relevancy of the programs.

Results

This section first presents the evidence regarding the cultural relevance for African-American women of the AIDS prevention programs at ACS. The second part shows that three factors affected the cultural relevance of the educational effort: a) organizational image and financing, b) internal interpretation of the agency's educational mission, and c) the race and gender of the people who were involved in the program planning process.

Are AIDS Prevention Programs Culturally Relevant?

Overall, the AIDS prevention education programming was not culturally relevant for African-American women because no programs were specifically targeted to this population. This specific programming would have been expected for three reasons: 1) the agency's mission statement is all encompassing, "to foster and participate in a broad (ital. added), compassionate, response to the HIV epidemic;" 2) the agency does provide programs for several other targeted groups, including the homeless community, the Hispanic community, the African-American community, and the gay, lesbian, and bi-sexual communities; and 3) African-American women have demonstrated the greatest increase in infection rates of any gender/ethnic group in the agency's service area. The educational programs for the African-American community are designed in an undifferentiated way for the entire community, with little emphasis placed on the special issues for women. The only opportunity for culturally relevant programming was offered during a one-hour breakout session on "Women and AIDS" held during the AIDS 101 workshop. This session, however, was conducted by another community-based agency.

Using the four criteria identified in the literature, this one-hour session was assessed as substantially culturally relevant for African-American women. First, the speaker was an African-American woman who works for an organization that provides AIDS services for this population. She made many references to how she dealt with being HIV positive from both personal and medical perspectives. Second, she spoke about underlying beliefs that related to African-American women, including men's resistance to using condoms, the negative experiences with the medical system encountered by African-American women with HIV, and the cost of preventing the disease. Third, the instructional media, including a videotape and handouts, used language that was easily understood by the audience. In relation to the fourth criterion, location and availability of AIDS educational services, the workshop did not fare as well. The workshops were held at a church in a predominantly white neighborhood.

As an overall experience, then, the AIDS 101 workshop was not culturally relevant for African-American women. Inasmuch as this program was the only educational effort that had some culturally relevant segments, the overall AIDS prevention education effort at ACS cannot be considered to be culturally relevant for African-American women.

Contextual Factors that Affect Programs' Cultural Relevance

This study identified three factors in the social and organizational context that influenced the extent to which the AIDS prevention education programs were culturally relevant for African-American women. **Organizational image and financing** is defined as the public perception of ACS and how this image promotes funding for the agency. **Internal interpretation of the educational mission** is defined as how staff members understand the agency's mission. The **program planning process** focused on the race and gender of the people who make decisions about education at ACS.

Organizational Image and Financing

The perception held by insiders as well as the public is that ACS exists primarily to serve the interests of the "white gay male" community. During the interviews, many staff members and program participants said that the agency is seen as a "white gay" organization. Others indicated that the agency strives to maintain this white gay male image to maintain and attract funding for the organization. This image has a clear historical explanation in that when the organization was created in 1982, most persons with AIDS were white gay males. Thus, many of the people involved in the early development and funding of ACS were white gay males, and this tradition has lasted since that time.

Funding is a major concern for the agency because of its non-profit status. Many people felt that the image of a white gay male organization has been cultivated because that is what generates private funding and donations, which are major sources of revenue for ACS.

Internal Interpretation of Agency's Education Mission

Many staff members believed that there was not a need for ACS to undertake prevention programs for African-American women because there were other agencies providing these services. Other staff members, however, believed that AIDS prevention programs should be developed by ACS because it is such a large agency and because of the need among African-American women.

There were some conflict around the need for a focus on programming for African-American women. African-American women were seen as outside the mission of the organization in terms of direct service. Any effort to reach these women would have to be a collaborative effort with other organizations for whom this population was a primary audience. Thus, the public image of a white gay male organization was consistent with the dominant internal understanding of its mission.

Program Planning Process

Coupled with the public perception of ACS as a white gay male organization and the dominant understanding of its educational mission, the dearth of African-American women in the planning process was a third important factor explaining the lack of culturally relevant programming at ACS.

African-American women were missing in almost every aspect of the planning process. including the education department, outreach department, or volunteer committee that determined the programming of the AIDS 101 seminar. There was only one African-American woman in management and on the Board of Directors. Finally, the women from the organization that provided the segment on "Women and AIDS" at the AIDS 101 seminar had no involvement in planning.

Discussion

Adult education plays a central role in the prevention of HIV infection in the United States. As the face of AIDS has changed to reflect African-American women, the importance of planning culturally relevant education for this group has increased.

I concluded that the educational planners: a) recognized the importance of providing culturally relevant programming for targeted groups, b) had the knowledge and skill necessary to provide such programming, and c) had the scope of agency mission to provide such programming for African-American women. Yet, with the exception of a one-hour segment of one educational program, these same planners did not offer this most effective form of adult education. Understanding the politics of the program planning process provides an explanation for this lack of culturally relevant programming. As argued by Cervero and Wilson (1994), the purpose, audience, content, and format of any educational program is causally related to the personal and organizational interests of the people who planned it.

As the face of AIDS continues to change, prevention education efforts need to evolve to address the needs of new populations. Given the epidemic's history in the gay community, many community based agencies have understandably focused their educational efforts there. These agencies have people in the power structure whose interests are primarily related to serving the needs of the gay male population. Therefore, community based agencies will need to develop unique forms of educational programs in order to have a hope of reducing HIV infection in African American women and its resulting personal and social costs.

This study has sought to provide an understanding of the political dynamics of planning such programs in a typical agency. By identifying the factors that constrain and enable culturally relevant programming, funding agencies, institutional leaders, and program planners can better anticipate how to respond effectively and compassionately to the educational needs of African-American women.

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Towards *fin de siècle*: a time to re-vision Durkheim's sociology of education?

Paul Armstrong, Birkbeck College, University of London

Abstract

This paper builds on earlier work on values and ethics that argued the need to re-vision the ideas of Émile Durkheim, by suggesting that the argument is supported by the notion of *fin de siècle*, which implies that the challenges of post-modernity are by no means new, and that there is evidence of a pattern or even a cycle that would seem to re-appear at the end of each century. Approaching the 21st century and the millennium, the notion of *fin de siècle* has additional significance. But is it merely a matter of history repeating itself? And is this important to the educator of adults?

Retrogression

You may recall a popular song from the 1950s entitled 'There's a hole in my bucket, dear Liza'? The song encapsulates the helix of non-sequential, circularity in moving towards the achievement of goals. In order to achieve A, I need to undertake B; in order to achieve B, I need to undertake C; in order to achieve C, I need to undertake A. At the 1996 AERC conference, my paper on values and ethics in research[1], was presented as part of a larger project which was seeking to find out whether and why we need to research values and ethics in research before we can research values and ethics. My hypothesis was that the answer to both the 'whether' and the 'why' had something to do with these 'new times'; or our postmodern condition. Towards the end of the paper, I realized my task was only just beginning. The penultimate paragraph asked where should we *begin*? My journey forward had taken me back to nineteenth century social theory; namely, Weber, Simmel, and Durkheim. Freed by post-modernism from my previous fear of pluralism and especially eclecticism, I concluded the paper with a further 'whether and why' question: whether we should go back to re-vision the work of Durkheim, and if so, why?

So, here we are back to the grand narrative. In this paper, I wish to argue for the re-visioning of Durkheim's sociology of education, and lest I forget my long-term challenge, the broader landscape, I want to conclude by briefly considering the importance of the issues raised for the teacher or researcher in adult education.

It is no longer a surprise to me to find that the path I wish to tread someone else has been there before; indeed, in this case, it is well-trodden. Responding to the challenge to return to the writings of Durkheim, to critically re-appraise his writings, not in the context of the nineteenth century, but in terms of their contemporary relevance, I found that - inevitably - the task had already been completed. For example, in 1989, Frank Pierce[2] had creatively re-examined Durkheim's major works, questioning the taken-for-granted, inherent positivism and conservatism. Pierce sought to explore and re-theorise the concepts that informed Durkheim's work, and from here to develop new theoretical analysis. In a sense, Pierce was de-constructing Durkheim, which was title of a subsequent publication by Jennifer Lehmann[3]. However, just to add to the confusion, the author tell us that her analysis is not deconstruction, 'because it assumes that the radical break with metaphysical humanism occurs with modernism, and some form of 'structuralism' - not with 'post-modernism' or post-structuralism'. Nor can it be a deconstruction because it is a reading of Durkheim from a particular and alternative point of view - critical structuralism (as opposed to Durkheimianism, not deconstructionism). The very fact that Durkheimianism can be opposed by an alternative other than deconstructionism in itself goes against the 'philosophy of deconstructionism'. In other words, the analysis points to alternative 'epistemes' in Durkheim's theories. By contrast, deconstruction is a 'sceptical, undermining, decentering, anti-foundational, processual critique of absolutely everything ... Deconstruction is posed as the most radical escape from conventional philosophy, and somehow outside it, as not just another ontology and epistemology, but as, putatively, the absence or end of ontology and epistemology'.[4]

Whatever the arguments, my intuition that Durkheim was in need of re-visioning turned out to be justifiable. But there was a further twist in the analysis to come, when I came across a third re-reading of Durkheim which was published between Pearce and Lehmann. In 1991, Stejpan Meštrovic published *The Coming* Fin de Siècle[5]. The significance of this re-reading of Durkheim was more than re-considering the contemporary relevance of his ideas, but to re-situate them in the nineteenth century, not just as a historical moment, but as a historico-cultural experience. The notion of *fin de siècle* does not relate merely to the end of the nineteenth century, but has a close affinity with the spirit of post-modernism.

It would appear that the term *fin de siècle* originated in a play by two obscure Parisian writers in 1888, and was used to refer to the general cultural malaise characterising late nineteenth century Europe, 'it signified a belief on the part of the literate and voluble bourgeoisie that the end of the century would bring with it decay, decline and ultimate disaster'.[6] This spirit of decadence did not accidentally sweep across Europe and across the globe as some kind of free-floating *Zeitgeist* or 'spirit of the times'. Rather, 'social and political factors obviously governed such a sustained 'feeling', and the growth of mass communications facilitated the spread of these ideas. Late nineteenth century Europe was unquestionably invaded by *fin de siècle* culture - by art and literature which self-consciously promoted the themes of decadence and death. It also impacted on social theory[7]. Paradoxically, the very internationalism of this '*fin de siècle*' ideology stimulated a greater sense of self-awareness and even affectation in the citizens of Europe and America.'[8]

It would appear that this internationalism was considered the most unusual feature of this nineteenth century *fin de siècle*, for other characteristics of the phenomenon had appeared at the end of previous centuries, as expressed in art, literature and other cultural artefacts.

If this is the case, then it will be of no surprise that as we approach the end of another century, that the period may be characterised *by fin de siècle* - perhaps more so, because it is not only the end of a century, but a millennium. Does not postmodernity reflect that very same spirit? Meštrovic believes so: 'The previous *fin de siècle* spirit and the current wave of postmodern culture share a common rhetoric of rebellion against Enlightenment narrative. In this sense, the coming *fin de siècle* and the previous *fin de siècle* also seem to share cultural values and traits, a sense of anxiety, uneasiness, and excitement; a deliberate breaking away from the seriousness and tradition in favour of play, impulse and fun; and a seeming liberal concern with what might still be termed socialist, democratic, humanistic ideals of justice and equality'.[9]

Meštrovic argues in his book that whilst there is overlap between the idea of *fin de siècle*, and postmodernity, they are not synonymous. Postmodernism is an extension of modernity - the same Enlightenment modernity that the previous fin de siècle spirit rebelled against. Whilst the previous fin de siècle may be considered a genuine reaction against Enlightenment narratives, and a genuine search for the *ir*rational bases of social order, the coming *fin de siècle* will be seen as an imperfect, ambiguous, confused and contradictory attempt to replicate the original and authentic spirit of rebellion of the nineteenth century. His argument is that one of the differences lies in the intellectual spirit that is at the heart of the *irrational* which itself comes from the heart. His analysis leads him to Schopenhauer[10] who argued that the heart was more important than the mind, and his influence was strongly felt by Durkheim.

Digression

If the arguments so far presented are reviewed, we find that a justification for re-visioning Durkheim's work is not that his grand narrative is sufficiently abstract, historically and culturally free that his ideas can be applied with little distortion to our contemporary times, but that the historical and cultural context in which he conceived his ideas and the nature of his task is essentially similar in spirit to our own. How can we illustrate this? If we were able to establish that the key concerns of education during the period characterised by the previous *fin de siècle*, which are presumably reflected in the Durkheim's writings are essentially similar, in spirit, to those we face today, then we could take a step forward in our analysis, to argue the need to re-vision the ideas of Durkheim. Given West's insistence on the significance of the international dimension of the previous fin de siècle, we would also need to establish that this evidence was not just European. In undertaking a search of the historical evidence in both Europe and North America for the period characterized as *fin de siècle* in the nineteenth century, there would appear to be two problems of historiography. The first is to with do with the selection of historical evidence, and the second is to with history itself, from a postmodern perspective. These concerns might be considered a digression, but are - of course - at the heart of the rational/*ir*rational debate that I am seeking to tread lightly through.

An admittedly cursory glance through the history of North American adult education produced some interesting ideas. Even the way historians decide to structure and classify history is of significance. Malcolm Knowles[11], for example, has a chapter on 'the growth of the nation and its quest for the diffusion of knowledge, 1780-1865'. The dates are presumably governed by political conflicts, from the Revolution to the Civil War, rather than by any cultural considerations. Nevertheless, a whole series of cultural issues relating to social stratification and social mobility, the role of women, and immigration are implicit in Knowles's descriptions, and explicit in his statement that the first adult educational task of the new nation was to transform an entire people from subjects to citizens, in a society changing to democracy. His next chapter focuses on a more limited historical period, 1866 to 1920, which for some commentators on *fin de siècle*, would almost entirely encapsulate their period of concern. This focuses on the maturation of the nation and its concomitant multiplication of adult education institution. Knowles' characterizes this period as equivalent to 'adolescence', with dramatic change (urbanization) and expansion (population, agricultural and industrial production). According to Knowles. The intellectual spirit of this era was as expansive as the political and economic: 'knowledge broke the bonds of subservience to theology and philosophy as the application of the scientific method to nearly all fields of knowledge produced a mass of new information'.[12] The contemporary technological revolution adds a new emphasis to the phrase 'a mass of new information'. By contrast, the book by Stubblefield and Keane has less historical specificity, but points to similar trends; indeed, their Chapter 10 begins by referring to Knowles.[13] Unfortunately, lack of space prevents a detailed critical analysis of their construction. It was intended to use a common example, that of Chautauqua[14], to attempt to draw out the features of late nineteenth century educational concerns. Features such as the defence of liberal adult education, adulthood as an appropriate time for intellectual development, non-formal education, the workplace as a site of learning, the importance of biographical crises as learning opportunities, education as refreshment, intellectual stimulation and acquisition of morality and spirituality (bringing together the sacred and the secular) all have their echoes in the late twentieth century, though the emphasis and detail will be different.

Less sequential in his analysis of the period 1750-1990, Joseph Kett includes an interesting discussion on culture and its decline (1870-1900). Taking a critical view of the rather narrow interpretation of the concept of culture, Kett says that by the early years of the twentieth century, 'culture itself was in decline as a goal of popular adult education. Long sniped at by a guerrilla band of critics, including Walt Whitman, culture gradually lost the allegiance of its own stalwarts and in the eyes of marauders and deserters alike came to *connote excessive refinement and even decadence*'.[15]

Turning to Europe, the intention here was to report the re-examination of my earlier research on the development of working-class and education for socialism using historical evidence from nineteenth-century Britain.[16] My argument rested on a marxist analysis of historical data, which demonstrated the 'failure' of adult education to contribute to the development of a socialist class consciousness and to establish a counter-hegemony, noting the continued fragmentation of the labour movement. What now makes that conclusion unsatisfactory is that I made no attempt at cultural analysis, although the sources of evidence in use (working-class publications and journals) were themselves cultural artefacts.

Indeed, a characteristic of these histories[17] is their lack of criticality about the nature of history itself, ready to treat - paraphrasing Durkheim - historical facts as 'things'. It would be too much of a digression to get into this discussion, but it does need to be raised. The title of the article by Fukuyama, 'the end of history'[18], should alert us to the need to de-construct historical perspectives and evidence.[19]

Progression

So what has this got to do with either Durkheim or the education of adults? The argument is that the work of Durkheim can provide a valid frame of analysis for contemporary education. Certainly, as I suggested last year, his work on morals and education are pertinent, reminding us of the possibilities of secular (for example, socialist) as well as religious ethics and values providing the basis of collective conscience in sustaining social solidarity in times of significant change and diversity. Moreover, among the grand narrators, Durkheim is unusual in that he does focus on education and culture (and, education *as* culture), as opposed to the narrowly political and economic. But above all, Durkheim has a sociology of knowledge which can be radicalised and deconstructed. His famous admonition is that we should treat 'social facts as things'. Whilst it is true that he did believe that social phenomena had a reality of their own ('a reality *sui generis*'), what is usually misunderstood about this injunction is that these 'things' were social actions, *informed by ideas*. He recognised that the knowable world was already received as reification. In other words, Durkheim would appear to have been a phenomenologist.[20]

Durkheim's sociology of knowledge is, then, in a complex relationship, but not necessarily at odds, with critical theories of ideology. As I have tried to indicate through the notion of *fin de siècle*, ideas no longer have to be seen purely in terms of their historical root; they provide a far wider and more inclusive range, forming the background to every social process, and they are pre-eminent because it is through ideas that we construct social reality.

As teachers, we may be concerned that our purpose is to construct reality, or the 'truth' for our students; for us, as researchers, the purveyors of objective facts, Durkheim reminds us of the constraining effect of the 'rules of social life'.

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[1] Paul Armstrong. 1996. 'The professional ethic and the spirit of post-modernism: researching values in teaching and research in the education of adults'. *Proceedings of the 36th Adult Education Research Conference*. University of South Florida. Tampa.

[2] Frank Pierce. 1989. *The Radical Durkheim*. London: Unwin Hyman.

[3] Jennifer M. Lehmann. 1993. *Deconstructing Durkheim: a post-post-structuralist critique*. London: Routledge.

[4] ibid. p. 4

[5] Stjepan G. Meštrovic. 1991. *The coming* fin de siècle*: an application of Durkheim's sociology to modernity and postmodernism*. London: Routledge.

[6] Shearer West. 1993. *Fin de siècle: art and society in an age of uncertainty*. London: Bloomsbury.

[7] Jeffrey C. Alexander. 1995. Fin de siècle *social theory: relativism, reduction and the problem of reason*. London: Verso

[8] ibid., p. 1

[9] Meštrovic. 1991. op. cit. p. ix

[10] As represented in. for example. Arthur Schopenhauer. *The world as will and representation*. which was originally published in 1818 but not widely read until the 1880s. a long time after his death. It is interesting that Schopenhauer is considered a leading philosopher of the *fin de siècle* - see Henri Ellenberger. 1970. *The discovery of the unconscious*. New York: Basic Books.

[11] Malcolm Knowles. 1977. *A history of the adult education movement in the United States*. Huntington. NY: Robert E. Krieger

[12] ibid., pp. 35-36

[13] Harold Stubblefield and Patrick Keane. 1994. *Adult education in the American experience: from the colonial period to the present*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

[14] Knowles. 1977. op. cit., pp. 36-38; Stubblefield and Keane. 1994. op. cit. pp. 136-138: see also. C. Hartley Grattan (ed.), 1959. *American ideas about adult education, 1710-1951*. Classics in Education No. 2. New York: Teachers College. Columbia University. Ch. 8: Joseph F. Kett. *The pursuit of knowledge under difficulties: from self-improvement to adult education in America, 1750-1990*. Stanford: Stanford University Press .Chs. 5-7

[15] Kett. 1994. op. cit. p. 143 (emphasis added).

[16] Paul Armstrong. 1988. 'The long search for the working class: socialism and the education of adults. 1850-1930', in Tom Lovett (ed.). *Radical approaches to adult education: a reader*. London: Routledge

[17] And many more than mentioned here. A recent publication. (Roger Fieldhouse and associates. 1996. A history of modern British adult education'. Leicester: NIACE). whilst aware of the function of history to illuminate the present and the future by looking at the past. fails to take on board postmodern perspectives on history.

[18] F. Fukuyama. 1989. 'The end of history?'. *The National Interest*. no. 16

[19] See. inter alia. Henry A. Giroux. 1993. *Border crossings: cultural workers and the politics of education*. New York: Routledge. pp. 121-123: David Lowenthal. 1985. *The past is a foreign country*. London: Routledge. Introduction: Michel Foucault. 1972. *The archaeology of knowledge*. New York: Pantheon.

[20] This argument has previously been put forward by Stuart Hall. 1978. 'The hinterland of science: ideology and the 'sociology of knowledge' in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. *On ideology*. London: Hutchinson. pp. 21-22.

IMPRISONED BODIES—FREE MINDS: INCARCERATED WOMEN AND LIBERATORY LEARNING

Irene C. Baird

Abstract

Using women's literature as a medium for self-exploration for self-awareness, incarcerated women learn to free their minds from their limiting situation. Examining the model through prison, Freirian, feminist methodologies affirms its significance/effectiveness as the essential first step for saying things differently, for liberation from oppression.

Introduction

In an article celebrating African American women, Toni Morrison wrote, "The mind is never still ... is going to learn whether you like it or not (1995, p.274)." For incarcerated women of all races and ethnic groups, the mandate is that, within a relatively short period of time following release from prison, "whether [they] like it or not" they better have learned something that will enable them to find "socially acceptable" employment; otherwise, the door to prison becomes a revolving one. Given this mandate, the prison where this research is currently taking place offers only traditional ABE, GED classes as the presumed antidote, the appropriate "corrective education" for a perceived-illiterate population.

There is limited research on the learning abilities, experiences and meanings of marginalized women, let alone the incarcerated, to support the prison's assumptions about the women and the decision to utilize literacy programs as the medium for employability (Baird, 1994, 1995; Gowen, 1992; Luttrell, 1993). To become better informed on the topic of marginalized women's learning, this study explored the efficacy of an alternative approach for acquiring practical knowledge: a humanities model that, as an essential first step, liberates them from their multiple layers of imprisonment through self-exploration, critical thinking development and action. Women's literature serves as the link. The methodology is viewed from three perspectives: prison rehabilitative education, Freirian liberation methodology and women's/feminists studies.

Methodology

A pilot project, in 1992, sparked the interest and served as the starting point for this ongoing research on learning among groups of marginalized women. Using a humanities-oriented model, homeless women engaged in an eight week process of self-examination through the writings of established female authors of similar race, class and experience. The one and one-half hour weekly sessions replaced the mandated "life skills" training designed as job readiness preparation. As an introduction, the women were told that although they were mandated to attend, they were not mandated to participate. There was no pre- or post-testing. Instead of measurement of learning skills, the intent was to introduce them to women's literature with themes relevant to their own lives, to initiate reflection and dialogue for meaning and, as a problem-solving process, for making the link to their own situation. Creative self-expression, in a form of their choice, further reinforced this process. A publication including examples of their writing reflected not only the effectiveness of such a method for the self-search but also indicated a heightened sense of self. This was termed a paradox in learning since it successfully engaged the learners in a process contrary to how society defined and addressed their learning needs (Baird, 1994).

Since 1994, the model has been implemented with incarcerated women, parolees and probationers. Four cycles, each lasting ten weeks for one and one-half hours each week, take place at both the prison site and at a program for female offenders. The incarcerated women volunteer to participate; as with the homeless women, this project is incorporated into a structured rehabilitative program for the parolees. The basic model of reading, reflecting and writing prevails at both sites. Although the topics and related reading change according to the learners' preferences, Maya Angelou's short poem on failed relationships engages them in reflection and discussion immediately. Its relevance to their lives crosses all racial, ethnic, class barriers. Their success in relating to female authors is reflected in their assessment of the writing and, through their own writing, its connection to their personal lives. A written evaluation of this process also attests to their adaptation to this learning medium for acquiring practical, liberating knowledge about themselves.

Prison Rehabilitative Education

Prison studies address issues such as the causes for incarceration; the dramatic increase in numbers of prison inmates, especially among females; recidivism and its relationship to low literacy levels. With few exceptions, such as Askins and Young (1994) studies on the learning style preference and brain hemispheric dominance among incarcerated females, most studies focus on the incarcerated male. The underlying theme of Newman, Lewis, Beverstock's work (1995), however, is the importance of providing the "right" kind of education for the incarcerated, the rehabilitative rather than punitive approaches that save human capital and tax dollars. This kind of education must maintain a socializing perspective by developing critical thinking about one's self and one's relationship both to the community and to society at large. Although they do not present a specific model, they recommend humanities-oriented programs as a process of self-examination for self-awareness. To further enhance the rehabilitative process, corrections practitioners are urged to adhere to adult education principles; to develop programs responsive to learner's needs, with hands-on learning, the researchers find, as the preferred style.

Given the focus on a humanities-oriented rehabilitative approach to learning and the fact that the female prison population has increased over 300% during the past decade, it is unfortunate that these studies devote minimal space to incarcerated women. The research findings on behavioral patterns are helpful in understanding classroom interaction; however, this limited treatment of the women's learning experiences and perspectives highlights the void in adult education research relating to marginalized, oppressed women. The development and implementation of a humanities model, although having served only about 200 women to date, reaffirms the effectiveness of learning through this medium and provides the literature with a learning model for oppressed women.

Freirian Liberation Model

Freire's philosophy and methodology for liberating, initially, illiterate peasants from oppression through reading and writing in their own words has a political orientation: the prescription for social action to conscienticize both the oppressed and the oppressor. The humanities-based model for marginalized women shares a similar philosophy about learning but focuses on individual, personal liberation from the many layers of internal crises that serve as imprisonment and oppression. In Freire's methodology, the praxis - the reflection and action - is designed as problem-solving education for the oppressed, the mechanism for them to look at their limiting situation, their reality and to find/define their own word. Succinctly, the imperative is for learners to look critically at where they find themselves, to dialogue and to take action. The same holds true for the humanities model with its liberating potential. Although its development was influenced by the meaning-making aspects of the humanities, the similarities between the two methodologies are remarkable. Learners using these methodologies, to quote Shaull in his Foreword to the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* "come to a new awareness of self hood and begin to look critically at the social interaction in which they find themselves". The differences are in the objective of the process. Freirian learners, with their self-constructed vocabulary, "often take the initiative in acting to transform the society that has denied them this opportunity of participation (1992, p.9)". Marginalized women, using the writing of established female authors of similar race, class and experience, take action on themselves, on their liberation through critical reflection and creative self-expression. Both methods, ultimately, help the learners find a "voice", shattering what Freire describes as the "culture of silence" of the oppressed.

Women's/Feminists Studies Perspectives

As has been noted, there is a significant void in research on the learning perspectives and experiences of marginalized women, the incarcerated being the most notable (Baird, 1994, 1995; Gowen, 1992; Luttrell, 1993). Ross-Gordon (1991) focuses on the necessity for inclusivity in adult education research and practice given that earlier studies on how women acquired knowledge and voice involved predominantly middle class, educated, Anglo-American women (Belencky etal., 1986; Gilligan, 1982). Other studies highlight learning within specific areas: some examples are Fingeret's (1982, 1984) work on basic adult literacy; Baird (1994), Gowen (1992) and Sheared (1993) studies on workplace preparation and Luttrell's (1989, 1993) attention to working women's learning perspectives, contrasting African - and Anglo - American women. Although Luttrell (1993) does not single out female learners, she underscores underrepresentation in the literature of low income adult learners, their programs, class sites, resistance or compliance to "school."

Liberation learning is the theme for Shauna Butterwick's comparative analysis of Freirian conscientization and feminist consciousness raising (n.d.). She provides the historical evolution of both philosophies and practices, noting the difference in "voice:" Freire objectifies the process and feminists write as subjects of the process (p.3). Noting that there is diversity among women in their movement and their experiences of oppression, she highlights that the nature and causes of their oppression must be identified, analyzed and changed, that "feminists are not aware of different things than other people; they are aware of the same things differently (p. 30)." Although she finds similarities in the process of liberation, of finding a "voice" for both feminists and Freire's learners, she feels the women's process must be grounded in their every day realities. This philosophy supports the purpose of the humanities learning model, of finding a "voice" through dialogue and reflection based on daily, lived experiences, in order to deal with oppression. Where she differs significantly this is in her contention that feminist consciousness raising, just as conscientization, should be a process of social action, a "liberating social movement" rather than as an adult education technique for behavioral change at the personal level.

Findings and Future Direction

Results of the implementation of the humanities model, group interviews and written evaluations show that

- incarcerated women are not categorically illiterate. Even non-readers and non-writers engage in the learning process by listening, discussing and, using their own voices, by dictating their reactions;
- incarcerated women are capable of sophisticated analysis of the reading. Since they are not threatened by the process, they are comfortable in using the reading to examine their own life situations. They also incorporate the perspectives of others in their written response to the themes of the reading;
- incarcerated women do establish parameters on what they will share in the dialogue process. They are more explicit in their writing and use that component as a means of "freeing their minds."
- In spite of the site incarcerated women feel ownership in the process and participate on a regular basis. Currently there is a waiting list for the program.

Counselors at the prison share that because the women continue their involvement in the process in their cell blocks they are far less hostile. Their ABE, GED scores have improved and two released women are attending a local community college. One woman has received recognition from a national poetry organization for work she submitted. At the practice level, therefore, this process provides another approach for engaging women in a non-threatening, challenging learning format. It demystifies literature and confirms it as a learning tool since this methodology is grounded in the women's daily lives. Reflecting on the experiences narrated by known, successful authors seems to validate those women who learn to see things differently.

On the theoretical level, this study contributes to adult education literature by offering some perspectives on marginalized women's learning. It provides insight into how they conceive and frame learning, in how they are able to engage in critical thinking as a process for liberating themselves even in as limiting a situation as the prison. Once developed, thinking process should also serve them as they engage in the precarious transition to the "outside." Reflecting on the humanities model through the prison, Freirian and women's/feminist studies lenses, the following themes emerged: the significance of self-exploration; the importance of dialogue for generating critical thinking; the engagement in some form of action, with critical reflection considered applicable to this process; getting in touch with one's reality and finding a "voice" as a liberatory, learning process.

The women's written evaluations affirm the themes as well as the feminist perspective that even within their limiting situation, they are not aware of different things than other women but rather, as transformation, they have become aware of the same things differently. To use the learner's words "[this program] has aloud me to open up some things in my life I thought that I wouldn't have to think about for nothing at all." Another wrote, "this ... has made me take a good look at myself and my family ... I never new how much I needed any of them untill I went away ... because I had forgotten [them] just as much as they forgotten me ... thank you for taking me back to reality." Finally, "Since I've been coming here ... I have written down alot of pain, happiness and hope for the future. I got out alot of emotions through my writing ... It would also give me hope to read other women's struggles with life who made it and succeeded.

The "nagging" question is the degree, the extent and duration of the liberating process, especially once the incarcerated women are released and do not have the learning environment and support this program provides. For women with unbelievable crises to deal with, ten weeks is hardly adequate for more than setting the process in place. The model needs more extensive implementation, both in the prison and on the "outside", and with other groups of marginalized women to continue strengthening as well as assessing the liberatory learning process for oppressed women.

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Developing White Consciousness Through a Transformative Learning Process

Carole Barlas

Abstract: This qualitative case study sought to examine a process of group learning in which individuals and group experienced a transformative change in consciousness about white privilege. This study resulted in understanding one process for expanding capacities for continued transformational learning.

Introduction

Racism continues to be a large and troubling issue throughout American society. Racism has become institutionalized at every level of society and the consequences are destructive to both white people and people of color. Lack of consciousness of white privilege is a key factor in perpetuating this situation. There is a need for developing the kinds of learning processes that effectively arouse and expand consciousness through catalyzing the expansion of ontological and epistemological capacities in order to help white people recognize how embedded they are in a white cultural perspective. Applying these learning processes can serve to begin to transform those institutional and social practices that perpetuate racist discourse. The purpose of this paper is to report, through case study findings, on the experience of thirteen white people who engaged for six months in a process designed to change their consciousness about white privilege.

The inquiry process used in this case study was developed by a Chinese national (Tang, 1995) who has lived in the West for the past decade. It has evolved out of his personal experience in understanding and synergizing the very divergent cultural perspectives within himself. He calls this process Synergic Inquiry. The fieldwork and analytic perspectives and processes of this process are eclectic. The perspectives are informed by elements from Constructivism (Patton, 1990)and Systems Theory (Laszlo, 1972). The processes are informed by elements from Dialogue (Bohm, 1990), grounded theory and heuristic inquiry (Patton, 1990). The processes of Synergic Inquiry are closely related to Jack Mezirow's (1991) theory of adult learning. Mezirow describes what a developmentally progressive perspective looks like: that it is inclusive, discriminating, integrates experience and is open and permeable to alternative perspectives. However, he does not offer much in the way of how to do this. Learning processes focused on the transformation of meaning perspectives through the examination of premises and assumptions are fundamental to Synergic Inquiry.

This study exemplifies a systematic inquiry process that engages people in examining their own and others people's consciousness at three different and interrelated levels of consciousness. This process works at all levels of systems: individual, group, organizational, and societal. In this study, participants went through this process for the first three months examining their consciousness on the individual level. During the second three months, a collective knowing evolved from which there developed an aggregate group consciousness that included all three levels of consciousness.

Methods

This study was qualitative in design and used case study with descriptive methods as an approach. The participants in the study were nineteen adult doctoral students in Cohort configuration and two faculty members from an integral studies institute in the Western part of the United States. They were together for six months using the Synergic Inquiry learning process to develop their awareness of the relationship between deeply held assumptions and their embeddedness in their cultural perspectives with the intention to increase their capacities for expanding their consciousness around racism. There were six African-American students and thirteen European-American students. These participants separated out into white and black sub-groups. A white faculty member also was a participant in the white group. Participants met approximately twice a month in various configurations of whole group and sub-groups. This study is focused specifically on the white group experience.

In the first cycle of the Synergic Inquiry process of differentiation and integration, the white group examined and reflected upon its consciousness using action and reflection cycles. Initially, each member of the sub-group reflected on her/his Self-Knowing, examining personal consciousness on three levels of consciousness based on the work of Robert Vachon (1995) : Visible, which refers to actions, behaviors, physical manifestations; Logical, which refers to rationalities, epistemologies, worldviews; Mythical, which encompasses deepest beliefs, faith, spirituality.

Then, each participant gave a verbal presentation of her/his Self-Knowing to the sub-group. The other members of the sub-group were then given the opportunity to ask questions about the presentation in order to deepen their understanding of this personal perspective.

The next phase of the Synergic Inquiry process involved exercises in Difference-Holding. This is where the sub-group participants "switched consciousnesses" with one another, in effect, "trying on the other's shoes". Holding multiple consciousnesses led to a creative a tension from which the next phase evolved.

The final phase, Difference-Transcending, was the phase in which different perspectives were held within a new, expanded consciousness. This phase brought the new consciousness into action and led to the development and application of a synergic group consciousness. (It should be noted that these phases may appear as linear processes but in actuality were more spiral and cyclical, each occurring within each other.)

Having done the above process as separate groups, the white sub-group and the black sub-group each developed a deep knowing of their individual group's collective consciousness. The black sub-group and the white sub-group then interacted with each other in a second Synergic Inquiry cycle of differentiation and integration, following a similar process as stated above.

The data were collected from a series of individual and sub-group consensus reflection papers, participant observation, computer on-line conversations, video tapes of group interactions and video-taped interviews. The individual reflection papers and on-line dialogue were sources of information about the "what", "how" and "why" (corresponding to Vachon's Visible, Logical and Mythical levels of consciousness) of the learning participants gained about themselves. The sub-team reflection papers were a collective effort to reflect on these questions on the group learning level. These papers were written after each Synergy phase. A final sub-group paper was written at the end of the entire process.

The participant observations and video tapes were a source of information about the context and emotional and physical interactions and responses of the participants. The video-taped interviews brought out participants' individual stories and were additional sources of individual reflection on the meaning of their experience.

Findings

This research found that in using the Synergic Inquiry process, the participants learned how to transform and expand their individual and group consciousness about white privilege. Through learning experiences created and designed by the group itself, participants identified elements at three levels of consciousness. At the Visible level they identified chaos and tendency towards objectification as key elements of white consciousness, which create "othering" and "isms." At the Logical level, they identified their assimilation into white culture as the key element. They found that giving up their heritage in order to "fit in" created a tendency to normalize "acceptable losses". They identified this social norm as a construct that sets up the toleration of the concept of acceptable losses in a way which dehumanizes and oppresses. At the Mythical level, they identified monoideism as the key element of white consciousness. This was interpreted as the holding of a singular reality which becomes the dominant perspective and thus leading to objectification, hegemony, and white supremacy.

The following are some examples of the reported awarenesses and Self/Other-knowing experiences that generated the capacity for expanded consciousness on all three levels. It should be noted that these levels of consciousness are interrelated and feedback to each other.

The following statements are situated at the Visible level of consciousness. They are sub-group reflections that followed a performance presentation by the white group of its collective white group consciousness to the black group.

> We struggled with articulating our group consciousness collectively. We can't seem to wrap our arms around it. I suggest that this struggle *is* our white consciousness. As the dominating voice in our culture, we haven't had to look to see who and what we are. Therefore, our discordant, messy, chaotic April presentation: individuals wanting and seeking connection and not having a clue how to do it.

"Self and Other" was identified as a constructed dualism which sets up the conditions for "isms" to exist.

> Some of the visible elements we identified are: rugged individualism, tension between group and individual, isolation, loneliness, conformity...these values drive our behavior and create objectification, "othering" and "isms".

Sense of self and behavior are some of the manifestations of the Visible level of consciousness. The following depicts the reflective response of a white male participant.

> ...it isn't that I use fear or shame to ride to a new level of consciousness, but rather there is an emerging cycle of emotions that move me kind of in a spiral fashion...it starts with pride, arrogance or hubris...then moves to sadness or a dying or a feeling of letting go, a surrender to the true truth feelings. And finally, I renew myself or I awaken with a sense of responsibility to do something different in my life or in my area of influence.. It is what I realized last night as my path to white consciousness and accepting my privilege and using it appropriately in the world.

Three Jewish women who were part of the white sub-team acknowledged that, in spite of their white skin color, as Jews they were part of a marginalized group in this culture. This helped them to comprehend the price to be paid for assimilation. This individual reflection paper articulates the way in which one Jewish participant had an embodied meaning-making experience at the Logical level of consciousness.

> The grief was so deep, I felt my whole body shake...Grief at what I had lost of my precious heritage and culture, grief at my parent's collusion in raising me assimilated so I could pass, fit in, "be American"–in a way they never had. I understood. Suddenly I knew part of the reason for my emptiness inside; I knew for me, the deal was no good, the bargain had failed. Through my parent's effort to help me "belong", I had missed an opportunity for the most important belonging, the belonging to my past and my people...I felt such anger at the trade of my Jewish birthright for the privileges whiteness could offer.

The following remarks are taken from a transcription of a white group conversation in which team members were reflecting on their current self-knowing as a group.

> ...Its so hard to give up what you think you know so well. It hurts...Because you don't know what's going to be ahead of you when you let go. It's like jumping across a crevice and it's that space in mid-air that's so scary...It's about awareness and never seeing

> things the same way again and the fear of how that will change our lives forever...I can't go back and I'm not sure about going forward...We are increasingly willing to let go of our embedded thinking and surrender to our processes of transformation...We have learned that the white consciousness perspective is not the only perspective or a superior perspective.

This next piece is a Mythic-level reflection from an individual reflection paper. In it, the person speaks about a Difference-Holding experience that involved her participation in a spontaneous skit in which the white participants "tried on" the identity of African-Americans.

> At the mythic level, the part of me that in no way can bear (pretending to) being Black because the fear of the pain is too overwhelming, so I'll go unconscious to keep my head buried in the sand and hold on to my privilege, to protect myself..because if I truly let in a piece of the depth of the experience (I can never know the full depth of the experience, since I am white), of the pain and the suffering, my life would have to change...Yet I already am changed, I already am experiencing life differently, on a daily basis I feel more pain and discomfort about racism.

Another participant in this skit who was taking on the role of an African-American walking down the street tells of how she was roughly thrown up against the wall by one of her sub-group members who was in the role of a white police officer. She described her embodied response as surprised, fearful and humiliating.

> Sensations went all the way through me to my core with a deep embodied knowing of the arbitrariness and pain and ugliness of making distinctions based on external traits. Even though I felt that I believed that we exist in a one/many reality, I realized how much I do to deny our connection and interrelatedness as human beings.

This next Mythic-level sub-group knowing is taken from a collective sub-group reflection paper:

> ...at times we have felt despair at the amount of work which we believe needs to be done in order to create a critical shift in the inherent social power dynamics in the United States and around the world. Nevertheless, we believe that the first step to "writing a different story" is identifying key elements which are driving the perpetuation of the current white consciousness story. It is through identifying the myths which drive us and the beliefs and assumptions which feed our actions, that we can choose what parts of our collective white story need to be rewritten and what metaphors and images we choose to embrace in our new story. Further, we believe that the act of deconstructing our existing story of white supremacy is the process of beginning to write a new story of white consciousness.

Conclusions/Discussion

The Synergic Inquiry process effected the consciousnesses and the meaning-making processes of the participants. Examining the white group's experiences and the way they integrated these experiences in their personal and academic lives while participating in the Synergic Inquiry process gives insight into the transformational dimensions of this process.

Engaging in this process resulted in a shift in white group consciousness and an expanded capacity for continuing this transformational learning within individuals and the group. Using the principals of differentiation and integration, Synergic Inquiry created a framework in which people were supported in participating in dialogic thought and expression.

Synergic Inquiry provided a systematic process for the participants to develop capacities to delve deeply into their unconscious assumptions. Conditions such as compassion, truth-telling, respect and love created a context within which they were able to inquire deeply into themselves and others and examine these assumptions and begin to integrate other perspectives with their own. Embodied experiences around critical incidents during the process led to the development of an openness and permeability to alternative perspectives. There was a discovery that white consciousness was really white unconsciousness. In the concluding words of the final white sub-group paper, one person observes "Our pain of not knowing who we are, of not knowing who we are not, of not wanting to know who we are, and of avoiding knowing how we embody those characteristics we fear in others...and this nurturing of our capacities to hold multiple ways of being is more than learning... We experience moments where self and other penetrated one another and a knowing of the whole was present...We are healing into greater wholeness and integration of new ways of being."

The significance of this study is that although there are some valuable theories on transformative learning such as Mezirow's, there is very little on how to implement and apply such theories. This study informs adult education practice by demonstrating through case study, one approach which works with differences as a catalyst for transformative learning. Many of the "isms" have become institutionalized in education in everything from policies to pedagogies. There needs to be more discourse on transformative learning and its processes so that social change can be facilitated within our educational institutions.

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EXECUTIVE BUSINESSWOMEN'S LEARNING IN THE CONTEXT OF ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

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Abstract: Case study analysis was used to investigate executive women's learning and development in corporate culture. Eleven executives were interviewed. A model of their development is proposed, detailing their learning tactics, negotiation strategies and transition characteristics over the course of their career development.

Introduction: Corporations are becoming more diverse, yet, women have made a mere dent in the executive level. Today, women represent approximately 5 percent of the corporate executive population, while making-up nearly 50 percent of the workforce. Corporate power has remained primarily in the hands of white male executives. Some women succeed in these often inhospitable environments. Many others leave. What helps the women who elect to stay survive the climb up the corporate ladder?

This study explored how executive business women function and develop in the context of corporate culture. This research was grounded in the assumption that corporate environments are created, controlled and perpetuated by men who have a stake in maintaining the existing power structures.

Review of the Literature: Women have been steadily entering the ranks of management over the last 20 years. Although women hold approximately 42 percent of management, administrative and executive positions, only five percent of the top executive positions are held by women (Powell, 1993). In 1990, only 2.6 percent of the *Fortune* 500 companies' corporate officers were women. That figure dropped to 2.2 % among the *Fortune* 50 (Feminist Majority Foundation, 1991).

Corporate cultures have been designed and controlled by a homogenous group of white males throughout history (Ruderman, Ohlott, & Kram, 1995). Most of the research on executives has focused on profiles of successful women (Morrison, White, Van Velsor and Center for Creative Leadership, 1992; Korn/Ferry International and UCLA, 1993), developmental challenges (Ohlott, Ruderman, and McCauley, 1994) and influences on advancement (Tharenou, Latimer and Conroy, 1994). Women indeed learn to be successful executives (Hoy, 1989; Van Velsor & Hughes, 1990), but just how remains less clear.

Methodology: Eleven U.S. executive women were interviewed using a case study approach. The selection criteria required that this purposive sample: (1) hold executive level status in *Fortune* 500-type organization; (2) be recognized as "successful" in the organization or having broken through "the glass ceiling"; (3) be responsible for a business unit with supervisory, policy development, or organizational strategy responsibilities; and (4) have a minimum of five years of company seniority. The participants' ages ranged from 33 to 62 years old. Data were collected via in-depth semi-structured interviewing and observation. Observation was used to collect data where permitted in five of the organizations. The interviews were tape recorded on an audio cassette player and transcribed verbatim on an ongoing basis. Data were analyzed according to the constant comparative method.

Findings: A model of executive women's development in organizational culture emerged from the data. Through their experience and learning, the executive women defined their organizational cultures as male-centered. Within this learning context, the women experienced development across three stages: Compliant Novices, Competence Seekers and Change Agents. Across these stages, the women exhibited distinctive learning tactics, negotiation strategies, and transition characteristics as they developed in their careers. The model will be described according to stage of development.

Compliant Novices: Seven of the eleven participants vividly recalled a state where they were less concerned with political savvy and more preoccupied with being well-liked and making few mistakes. Hannah referred to this state as, "The Grateful Woman's Syndrome." She recalls, "I was just really grateful to have a job and really hoped that I didn't screw-up so that I got fired. I was of the opinion that if you did good work, someone would tap you on the shoulder and you would move into the next arena of good jobs." The Compliant Novices stage was particularly prevalent and longer among the women who began their careers at an entry level (e. g., clerical), possessed little or no education beyond high school when hired, and were at least fifty years old at the time of this study.

During the Compliant Novices stage, the women devalued their talents, doubted their skills, and attributed getting hired to sheer luck over ability. Monica, prior to her career in the automotive industry, had been a teacher and a lawyer. She had so much difficulty with her first legal case that it had to be turned over to a senior colleague. She was so devastated by the failure that she decided the only remedy was to quit. Only a persuasive male colleague was able to convince her to stay.

The women's learning at this stage was formal occurring in both university and company training courses. Both the formal and informal learning was usually controlled or suggested by an authority figure in the organization, rather than self-initiated. For instance, four of the women pursued college degrees upon the urging of their male bosses without questioning whether it was the right thing for them to do at the time.

The women also had informal learning experiences that made strong impressions. For instance, Tina, in her first job after receiving a Ph.D., unquestioningly rewrote one of her first reports seventeen times for her boss. Each time she would tell him, "it's not good enough yet," and he would tell her to rewrite it. The seventeenth time her boss asked her to rewrite the report, she finally lost her temper and asked him, "What will it take to make this good enough?" Her boss exclaimed, "Ahah! Finally you are angry enough to defend yourself."

The Compliant Novices' negotiation strategies in the organization were based on acquiescence to the ways of the organization and the people in positions of power. This behavior was based on a belief that if they were nice and never caused any trouble, they would be rewarded with advancement.

As the women gained confidence and discovered that they added value to their organizations, they developed stronger interest in advancing in the company and acquiring the skills to attain promotions. The Compliant Novices felt rudely awakened when they realized that good manners and a friendly smile were not enough to be promoted. Often this insight was accompanied by an awareness that their skills were deficient in some way and that they would need additional experience and/or education if they were to advance. The women's movement into the next stage was also precipitated by less reliance on the opinion and direction of authority figures, replaced by a stronger tendency to follow their own intuition.

Competence Seekers: Five of the eleven women were in the Competence Seeking stage at the time of this study. These women tended to be either the eldest women--with ten to thirty years of seniority, or the youngest women--under age thirty-five with ten years or less seniority in their companies. Based on the women's recognition that they needed to achieve experience and education to advance, the Competence Seeking stage learning was dominated by pursuit of competence via formal education programs, work experience and affiliation with professional associations. Authority figures lost their luster as dispensers of advice to be taken without question. Instead, the women relied on peer groups and mentors for much of their informal learning. The women sought risky positions and projects and accepted their mistakes as learning experiences.

The negotiation strategy of Competence Seekers was adaptation to the prevailing culture. The women had a near-obsession with being highly competent. Competence was oft described as the key to gaining access to and acceptance in the male-dominated culture. Competence Seekers were primarily motivated toward developing technically and professionally. They were inwardly oriented focusing on self- and intellectual development. They women were motivated by a fear of not fitting in, not being competent enough, and offending the men. They were often silent regarding issues in the organization that they disagreed with. Women at the Competence Seeking stage accepted the male-centered cultural context at face value without questioning its authority. The women all recognized the power of the male-dominated culture and, in fact, defined their cultures with respect to it. Yet, these women did not believe in "rocking the boat," instead favoring evolutionary change. They cooperated with the existing culture without challenging it. This cooperative attitude toward the male-dominated system was evident in statements like, "That's just the way it is," or "It's a man's world," or "the men don't need that [women's libbers]." There was an orientation toward rules of the culture exemplified by statements such as: "Sometimes your feelings get hurt," to "Being part of the group is being willing to accept the mores of that group," or "There's still places in the company [where] it's perfectly okay to be a woman, but you have to play by exactly the same rules. And to be honest, I don't really object to that so long as the rules are reasonable."

As the Competence Seekers developed in this stage, they began discovering that even competence and adaptation were not enough to move ahead. As the women neared the end of the stage, they had acquired high levels of stature in their respective organizations. All of these women were regarded as "glass-ceiling breakers". The women saw themselves in positions to mentor other employees and influence the organization. Some also became disenchanted with the limits of the culture that they were increasingly viewing as male-dominated.

Change Agents: The third stage along the continuum, Change Agents, was characterized by the realization that competence and adaptation were insufficient to influence the culture, and that the sometimes the culture itself was problematic. At this point, the executives moved into a mode of critically reflecting on and advocating change in the culture. Seven of the eleven participants functioned at this level at the time of the study. These women ranged from age thirty-five to fifty. They had worked for their companies for ten or more years.

At the Change Agent stage, learning was deeply reflective and highly collaborative. Self development shifted from a focus on competence to self-exploration and fulfillment. Development of other people (both inside and outside the organization) took on as much importance as self-development. Through mentoring others, the women who were highly influential took significant career risks to do what they believed was right. For instance, one executive chaired a women's network with the knowledge that none of the original team members were still employed by the company. Negotiation tactics were targeted toward influencing the organization. The women spent significant time reflecting on the organization, developing networks, and strengthening relationships. These connections became powerful forces in advocating and activating change in the organizations. Pam indicated that she did not have all the answers but, "If you have a good network you can utilize that network to help you solve problem[s]."

The women saw themselves as uniquely positioned to use their power to lobby for and implement change. Often they spoke of using their positions as platforms to promote change and referred to themselves as "change agents." Although they had felt cultural resistance, none were willing to accept it and go quietly about their business. Some challenged it overtly, others used their positions to educate employees and change the culture. Unquestionably, all of the women used the power of their position, expertise, and others to counter the career damaging or stalling effects of the male-dominated culture.

Discussion: This study offers a glimpse of how executive women learn and develop in the context of organizational culture. This study illuminates how a marginalized group, in this case women in corporate environments, used learning to gain access to, excel in, and change a culture. The model of executive women's development identified in this study is instructive as it contributes to the understanding of how subordinate members of a culture wield influence. It is also important because learning was fundamental to the women's success in the culture.

The experience of the women in this study parallels what we know about adult development. Yet, Belenky et al. (1986) underscore that conceptions of knowledge and truth have been influenced by the male-dominated culture. In fact, they state that, "Nowhere is the pattern of using male experience to define the human experience seen more clearly than in models of intellectual development" (p. 7). Synergies with existing development theory were notable in the executive women's deference to authority, particularly in the Compliant Novices stage. This parallels the reliance on authority for direction in the initial stages of the developmental theories of Belenky et al. (1986), Kohlberg (1973) and Perry (1968). The tendency to engage in self-protection, particularly in the Competence Seeking stage is also apparent in the development theories proposed by Kohlberg (1973).

Feminist pedagogy and new literature on women's development have offered alternative models (see for instance, Belenky et al. 1986; Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1976; and Shrewsbury, 1993). Caffarella and Olson, in their 1993 review of the psychosocial development of women conclude that in addition to understanding women's development, attention must also be paid to the importance of relationships and interconnectedness among women learners, creating a democratic process for learning, and cooperative communication styles. With relation to women's functioning in organizational culture, Helgesen (1990) also concluded that a web of relationships was of fundamental importance to the women's success. Relationships were highly important to the women in all stages, but particularly in the Change Agent stage. Caffarella and Olson (1993) observe that the more traditional models (e.g., Erickson, 1963; Kohlberg, 1973; Levinson et al., 1978; Perry, 1968) of women's development do not capture the essence of women's learning and women's lives. They conclude that only two key assumptions hold particular relevance to women's development. These are 1) that periods of stability and transition are a part of adult lives, and 2) that identity and intimacy are issues of prime importance.

These findings also underscore the importance of the context in the women's learning, identified by both Merriam (1993) and Wilson who notes, "Adults no longer learn from experience, they learn in it, as they act in situations and are acted upon by situations" (1993, p. 75). The women also spent significant time in reflection, particularly as they advanced into the change agent stage. This parallel's Schon's work on reflection-in-action (1983, 1987).

The practical application of these findings is that they shed light on how subordinate newcomers (in this study, women in male-dominated culture) learn and negotiate in organizational culture. This understanding is important since previous emphases have been on white male experience and learning in organizations. As the workforce becomes increasingly diverse, it is more important than ever to understand the learning processes of new entrants.

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THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON PREVENTING FISHING VESSEL ACCIDENTS

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Abstract: Despite the availability of new technologies, fishing vessels come to grief far too often. Prevention education is excessively functionalist and not sufficiently focused on human factors. The author interrogates the problem from contrasting theoretical perspectives and claims prevention educators should embrace subjective as well as objectivist ontologies and place power relations at the centre, not on the margins, of their efforts.

Commercial fishing is a dangerous occupation - one of the worst - and fishers routinely fall overboard, get wound onto net drums, are hit by falling blocks or flaying beachlines and lose hands, arms, and other body parts in winches. From 1976 to 1993 almost 17,000 Canadians were fatally injured in the course of or as a result of their employment. Although fatality rates have been dropping, they remain high in the primary industries. Between 1988 and 1993 113 out of every 100,000 workers in fishing/trapping lost their lives, as compared to 82 per 100,000 in logging and forestry and 63 per 100,000 in mining, quarrying and oil wells. B.C., which has many people likely to be employed in high-risk industries had the highest death-rate at 15 per 100,00 paid workers (Statistics Canada, 1996). Despite the importance of commercial fishing there is a marked lack of research in Canada that could inform prevention programs. Inadequate research easily leads to the adoption of prevention strategies whose adequacy remains untested. There is no shortage of "common-sense" but a lot of programs adopted because it (e.g. handing out pamphlets) fail to withstand theoretical or critical scrutiny.

Education for prevention often involves dispensing "facts." However, it is overly naive to think that once people have the "facts" (about personal flotation devices, flares, liferafts and suchlike) they will change their behaviour in the desired direction. As Festinger (1957) and others demonstrated years ago, people easily reject or rationalize facts if it suits their purposes. Educational facts (e.g. wear a lifejacket) may seem reasonable and stunningly obvious to the educator. But the way they are construed by the recipient, and the extent to which he or she has the power to act on them, will greatly shape the extent to which they are integrated into the learner's frame of reference. It is also naïve to think that the presence of sophisticated equipment (such as navigation aids) necessarily enhances safety. If the fisher is a risk-taker the new GPS enables him or her to cut the corners even finer than before (Geller, 1996). With limited openings, fishers sometimes have to travel at night or confront adverse weather conditions. They must be practical people with a good knowledge of electrical and plumbing systems, hydraulics and a host of other matters. One wrong slip and a person can be overboard or hauled over a net drum or into a winch. This is a "practical" and life-threatening world and it is no surprise that fishers are not preoccupied with "theory." It sounds "airy fairy" and detached from the so-called "real world." But there is nothing as practical as a good theory. Practice not informed by theory soon becomes random and ineffective and, thus far, there have been few attempts to theorize about fishing vessel accidents or their prevention. Instead of dwelling on weather and equipment, a broad theoretical approach would embrace human dimensions (and the way fishers "read" their world) as well as structures that shape the fisheries, fishing families and the rhythms of fishing operations. Our purpose here is to insinuate structural and human dimensions into discussions typically nested in techno-rational (functionalist) discourses. Our task is to view fishing accidents, and their prevention, from the vantage point of different or alternative theoretical perspectives.

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A THEORETICAL MODEL

The model presented below embraces four paradigms that offer different ways of explaining and thus thinking about the prevention of fishing vessel accidents. It rests on a couple of crucial assumptions. One, concerning ontology, is that the way people perceive or construe things is as important as the "objective" world within which they live. The second assumption concerns the importance of power relations (e.g. between skippers and crews, fishers and buyers, men and women on fishing vessels). Some prevention efforts, such as those wherein it is suggested that men listen more closely to women, challenge extant power relationships. The model contains four quadrants bounded by two axes - one concerning ontology, the other concerning power relations. Part of its power is the fact it embraces a broad spectrum of thinking about accidents and their prevention.

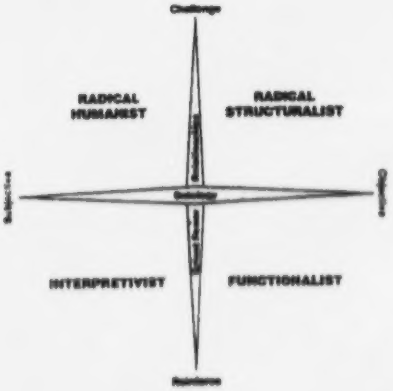

Fig. 1. Model For Constructing Prevention Education

The Axes: The two axes in Fig. 1 lie in an orthogonal (right-angled) relationship to each other. Treat them like latitude and longitude on a nautical chart. The horizontal axis concerns ontology - the essence of phenomena. Accident investigators and prevention educators vary with respect to the extent to which they think there is an objective "reality" - out there - external to the individual. For some, there is an objective world inhabited by lawfully interrelated variables. For others, reality is essentially a subjective phenomenon that exists within consciousness. It exists "in the mind." The vertical axis concerns power and self-interest. Power relationships lay at the centre of fishing vessel accidents and their prevention. Fishing is not a neutral "technical" or benign process. It involves all kinds of struggles - between companies and crews, government and industry, captain and deckhands, male fishers and their wives, fishers and buyers, gear types, ethnic groups and so on. Somebody's interests are always being served when prevention education programs are mounted. The model contains four paradigms that, if adopted, would require different kinds of emphases in the analysis of data secured during casualty investigations and associated prevention education programs.

Functionalism: Functionalism provides an essentially "rational" explanation for accidents. It is the dominant ideology of our time and characterized by a concern for social order, consensus and social integration. Its epistemology tends to be positivist. Functionalists want practical solutions to practical problems and are usually committed to social engineering as a basis for change with an emphasis on gradualism, order, and the maintenance of equilibrium. Functionalists attempt to apply models derived from natural sciences to human behaviour.

Interpretivism: Interpretivists are "subjectivists" in that "reality" is what it is construed to be. Great effort is devoted to adopting the frame of reference of the participant. Social "reality" is a network of assumptions and "shared meanings." The subjectivist ontological assumptions shared by interpretivists stem from the notion that human affairs are ordered, cohesive and integrated. Interpretivists are more concerned with understanding subjectively construed meanings of the world "as it is" than with any utopian view of how it might be.

Radical Humanism: Radical humanists want to upset extant power relationships but are anchored within a subjectivist ontology. Those in this paradigm are usually anti (or "post") positivist. But, unlike interpretivists, radical humanists want to overthrow or transcend existing social arrangements. Many radical humanists employ concepts developed by the young Marx to describe how people carry ideological superstructures which limit cognition and create a "false consciousness" which inhibits fulfillment. Radical humanists want to release people from constraints - which largely reside in their own cognitions. They seek transformation, emancipation, and a critical analysis of modes of domination. They want people to reconstruct their view of reality and take appropriate action. Thus praxis becomes reflection (or reconstruing) followed by action.

Radical Structuralism: Radical structuralists share fundamental assumptions that buttress functionalism but are committed to the overthrow of social structures that build "false consciousness." If radical humanists focus on consciousness and meaning, radical structuralists focus on structures, modes of domination, deprivation, contradictions within an objective social world. Education construed from within a radical structuralist perspective would show how incidents arise from objective socioeconomic circumstances.

WHAT HAPPENED TO *SCOTIA CAPE?*

On January 27, 1987, at 2300 hours, the 189 ton, 36 metre combination seiner/trawler *Scotia Cape* left the B.C. Packers wharf at Steveston, bound for fishing grounds in the Queen Charlotte Islands. There were seven experienced fishers (one of whom was a woman) on board a vessel that had a reputation for big production and excellent wages. Gales were blowing in the Queen Charlotte Islands from January 27, later upgraded to storm warnings from January 29 to February 5. The skipper apparently decided to press on into the storm. After leaving Steveston, the vessel was last sighted in Goletas Channel, near the tip of Vancouver Island, but its exact destination was not known because the master usually kept it a secret.

It was only when *Scotia Cape* failed to contact B.C. Packers at a pre-arranged time that the Rescue Coordination Centre (RCC) was alerted and a search mounted. There was no debris, oil slick or survivors. The master who had survived a capsize and sinking on the *Scotia Bay* on September 6, 1979 was not so fortunate this time. There were numerous other trawlers in the Queen Charlotte's during the time in question but most were at anchor in sheltered waters during the worst of the storm. On January 30th Environment Canada reported storm force winds (60-80 knots) at Solander after which the wind sensor failed. The TSB thus concluded that, although other fishing vessels were also at sea, it was imprudent for *Scotia Cape* to leave sheltered waters in the face of a storm. But, from our perspective this "explanation" is insufficient.

The implications for prevention are now illustrated by positing alternative explanations for the loss of *Scotia Cape*. Each explanation suggests the need for a different focus in prevention programs. Because this large vessel disappeared without trace, and there were no survivors to interview, we largely depend on the TSB investigation but go beyond their analysis and posit explanations, from other than a functionalist perspective. At the centre of the present analysis is the notion that "free surface effect" or a capsize are not the cause, but the result of the accident. The causes (or causes) of this accident were in place and having their effect long before the vessel left Steveston. The task here is to explain the disappearance of *Scotia Cape* from within varied theoretical perspectives. Our task is to raise issues not usually considered in marine casualty investigations and rarely show up in prevention campaigns. In this way we hope to broaden the discourses pertaining to prevention.

Functionalist Perspective: The disappearance of *Scotia Cape* is easily explained from a functionalist perspective and we need look no further than the TSB investigation. First of all, the vessel carried no EPIRB and thus, from the outset, searchers were at a disadvantage. The system for deploying the liferaft was not adequate and, even if the seven crew got into it, the chances of being picked up were jeopardized by the fact nobody had their position. The RCC (1987) report details conversations with family members and fishers on similar boats who claimed that the vessel was most vulnerable while dragging or retrieving nets. If the net got caught on a snag or difficulties developed while retrieving it, this combined with even a moderate sea state, could have an adverse effect on stability and cause the vessel to roll over and sink. In rough seas everything on the deck would be securely tied down so little flotsam would get loose from the sinking vessel. Hence the lack of debris.

Interpretivist Perspective: Storm-force 70 knot winds were forecast. Contrary to popular wisdom, weather forecasting is a fairly exact science and, as predicted, the storm arrived. Did the skipper interpret this as an opportunity to get some uninterrupted fishing on grounds that had previously produced good money for him and the crew? Although he would have preferred calmer seas and didn't enjoy working in waist high water crashing across the deck, previous trips had demonstrated that *Scotia Cape* could take some punishment. Fishers can't be choosy about crew, weather or much else and he had long ago accepted that you "take it as it comes." Others were on the radio whining about weather but, for him, every day spent in shelter was a day wasted. What meaning did crew members ascribe their predicament? This was supposedly a bullet proof ship and they'd been here before. On the other hand *Scotia Bay* had rolled over. But, on that occasion everyone, including their skipper, had a lucky escape. Was it just a matter of being on side with "lady luck?" As waves swept the deck and the vessel rolled and they clung to the gear and railings did anyone come to doubt the wisdom of what they were doing? If so, what was yelled or screamed above the roar of waves and wind? How many of the crew were gripped with panic and immobilized by fear? If the net got snagged to one side and the vessel heeled would they have the mental resources, physical strength or tools needed to cut it free?

Radical Humanist: As *Scotia Cape* got near the tip of Vancouver Island, the radio chatter suggested other vessels had already run for shelter. Some on those on board felt apprehensive about what they were doing, but once having stepped aboard in Steveston, had no way to get off. The master had over 25 years experience fishing in B.C. and, according to the TSB (1987) "had an excellent reputation as a fisherman and master and, although stated to be a cautious person who had considerable respect for the sea, was acknowledged to often fish the vessel in adverse weather" (1987, p. 34). In the pecking order, the master of *Scotia Cape* had a considerable reputation even though his proclivity for staying out in storms was a source of concern. Was this an "individual error" or was the master nested in a male discourse that routinely exposed people to extreme danger? What discourses or dismissive strategies were used to discount apprehensions on the ship? To what extent were the interactions that preceded a capsize nested in sexualized ("you've got no balls ... you want to fuck us out of payday?"), homophobic ("if you girls don't want to be here, swim ashore ... ") or similar discourses? Were the men on board concerned that running for shelter would have earned them the label sissy or wimp? What was the role of the only woman aboard, who occupied the often difficult and ambiguous role of cook? In the gendered and overwhelmingly male dominated culture of a large fishing vessel did she have any power at all?

Radical Structuralist: Fishers enact their lives within a web of class relations. In this case the most salient concerned the relationship between the owner and the crew. The second set concerned "false consciousness" - fictional notions of social mobility that impelled the crew search for big wages. B.C. Packers is a large corporation incorporated in 1928 but with roots that go back to 1902. Their famous "Cloverleaf" trademark was acquired in 1908. Today B.C. Packers is the largest processor of seafood in British Columbia and many canneries built last century are owned by this large conglomerate. *Scotia Cape* was valued at more than $1 million yet this corporation had somewhere neglected to purchase and install an EPIRB or an auto alarm. What aspects of the organizational culture at B.C. Packers created a situation where large company vessels were sent into storms without this equipment and, if this was the pattern, what norms and expectations surrounded the maintenance of winches, blocks, nets and the rest of the machinery on company vessels? How could this corporation justify the contradiction of sending ill equipped vessels to sea while, at the same time, flying a company aircraft? From a Marxian or Radical Structuralist perspective the skipper and crew died because of predatory capitalism and the historic tendency of corporate elites, snug in warm offices and safe on shore, to abuse workers at sea. From this perspective the accident arose from unequal and exploitative class relations. The capsize, the fluids slopping in the tanks (the "free surface effect") were a result, not a cause of the accident. In this case the cause resides in the exploitative indignities of capitalism and predatory instincts of corporate elites in the B.C. fishing industry.

PREVENTION EDUCATION

Training to Education: Prevention education programs informed by Interpretivist, Radical Humanist, Radical Structuralist as well as Functionalist perspectives would involve education rather than training. "Training" denotes a fixed content and the notion there is a consensus concerning "correct" procedures. The focus is on course content (e.g. collision regulations) which is usually contained in ring-binders and trotted out year after year. An educational approach that has regard for the socio-cultural backgrounds of the learners, places power relationships in the foreground and would involve use of participatory techniques, large amounts of group work, and the skillful use of case studies (e.g. *Scotia Cape*). The metanarratives (e.g. collision regulations) would not be abandoned. Rather, they'd be incorporated into more participatory formats that respect learners and value their experience.

Program Content: Programs nested in the three alternative perspectives would involve examination of issues arising from the socio-cultural backgrounds and cognitive perspective of learners. Power relations, the sociology of the fisheries, would be in the foreground. Gender politics and "macho-male" behaviour would be in the foreground. Instructor's would give up the idea there is only "one way" to secure safety. Instead, there would be adequate regard to the highly differentiated nature of the fishery and the fact a modest two-man crabbing operation cannot be compared to a 14-man offshore dragger. In the language of postmodernism, instructors would abandon metanarratives in favour of a more fluid and differentiated approaches shaped to meet the needs of learners from different ethnic groups, gear types and positions of power and powerlessness. Prevention programs based on a functionalist (i.e. techno-rational) analysis of fishing vessel accidents usually involve "dispensing information" or "facts" about piloting, fishing practices or equipment. They also tend to be Eurocentric and place white, English-speaking persons at the centre. Asian-language speaking persons are the "other" who get hectored about learning English and doing things the "Canadian" way (as if there's some Canadian "essence"). Ideally, much program content will be drawn from the experience of ethnically-defined fishers in different gear types. More fishing vessel accidents would be prevented if educators also adopted an ideology of adult education (instead of training). Education programs nested in the theoretical perspectives described here would contain heavy leavenings of psychology, anthropology, sociology and other social sciences. Investigators and educators would stretch beyond ergonomics or "human factors," let alone collision regulations and emergency duties. Alternative approaches would involve discussion of gender, ethnicity and the different norms and understandings held by trollers, seiners, gillnetters, crabbers and so on. There would be a concerted study of socio-political factors (structural relations) that shape fishing operations and influence safety.

Program Processes: In the recommended prevention education program there would be fewer lectures - where the instructor lays out his or her perspective - and more group work, discussion, role plays, and simulations where learners bring forward their experience and perspectives. The fisher's stories - about near misses and big hits - would be shared and analyzed in systematic and theoretically focused ways. Instructor's would make more lavish use of case studies but, instead of just "telling" learners about incidents, would employ participatory techniques that unmask different ways of interpreting "findings" found in casualty investigation reports. If TSB investigators can imbue their reports with a socio-psychological and socio-cultural perspective they will be even more useful for training purposes than at present. The case study, long a technique favoured by adult educators, is very potent with fishers because, in many instances, the learners knew the deceased whose names appear in the report and most are familiar with the circumstances (e.g. rough weather, the pressure of competition, taking a short cut) that immediately preceded the accident being studied. Prevention education programs informed by Interpretivist, Radical Humanist, Radical Structuralist as well as Functionalist perspectives would involve use of techniques that elicit and make use of the learner's background and experience. Because the fishing fleet is highly differentiated, content would be adapted to local particularities. Prevention education processes would be participatory, involve fewer lectures and more active collaboration with learners.

NARRATIVES OF WOMEN'S SEXUAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT: A COLLABORATIVE INQUIRY WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR REWRITING TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING THEORY

By

Ann K. Brooks and Kathleen Edwards

ABSTRACT

Transformative learning theory has attended primarily to cognition and our capacity to understand experience in terms of increasingly inclusive, discriminating, permeable, and integrative perspectives (Mezirow, 1991). However, it does not allow for an understanding of the intersubjective nature of meaning-making, nor does it address the workings of oppression or how learning occurs in relation to oppression. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to rewrite transformative learning to allow us to theorize the integration of the individual with the socio-historical and to enable the understanding of the relationship between individuals and social change.

In what follows, we examine women's development of sexual identity as a site of transformation. As researchers, we asked ourselves, how is it that we construct ourselves? To what extent do we construct ourselves in accordance with dominant narratives? Where do we find the leverage to break open those narratives and construct alternatives? We ground our analysis in the sexual life histories of ten women, looking not only at how social narratives organized and gave meaning to our experiences of sexual identity development, but also at the feelings and lived experiences that were not fully encompassed by dominant social narratives. We also revisit transformative learning theory, rewriting it to reflect an understanding of our lives as structured by narrative. Finally, we look at how a collaborative research methodology provided a context for articulating knowledge that was not consistent with these discourses and served as a methodology for cultural change.

POWER, KNOWLEDGE AND LANGUAGE

Transformative learning theory highlights the understanding that it is not possible to know objective reality and so it is through systems of interpretation (meaning schemes or meaning perspectives) that we give meaning to our experiences. However, the "map" metaphor implicit in the terms "schemes" or "perspectives" does not include the dimension of time or movement through time, and so provides us no way of understanding human change. Edward Bruner (1986) makes this point when he writes that "narrative structure has an advantage over such related concepts as a metaphor or paradigm in that narrative emphasizes order and sequence...and is more appropriate for the study of change, the life cycle, or any developmental process" (p. 153). The analogy of narrative also implies both a writer and a reader and gives us a way to think about transformation as an intersubjective rather than an individual process.

We can externalize the narratives that structure our lives through writing or telling our autobiographies or life histories. The telling of our lives to others allows us to make sense of and integrate the multiple fragments of our lives. However, none of us can tell the whole of our lives. We necessarily weave in some experiences and exclude others. In describing this process, Michael White and David Epston (1990) write:

> The structuring of narrative requires recourse to a selective process in which we prune, from our experience, those events that do not fit with the dominant evolving stories that we and others have about us. Thus, over time and of necessity, much of our stock of lived experience goes unstoried and is never "told" or expressed. It remains amorphous, without organization and without shape (p. 12).

The knowledge that remains unstoried can be understood to be a knowledge without language. Foucault (1980) tells us that the process by which we select the experiences we tell is a power saturated one. Our unstoried knowledges can be understood as subjugated in that they have been erased or silenced through the colonization of space by language that stories the dominant knowledges. Foucault names as subjugated knowledges those that have been written out of history such as the ideas and knowledge of women and those that are "indigenous" or "naive" and are located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity.

WOMEN'S SEXUALITY

Women's sexuality is codified by multiple mythologies and modes of discourse. These can be understood to not only structure how we think about sexuality, but the decisions we make and what we do about our sexuality as well. Barthes (1972) writes that such mythologies are types of speech chosen by history that have moved from the realm of innocent speech to a "naturalized discourse" that maintains power through "the pretension of transcending into a factual system" (pp.131-134). Butler (1993) suggests that such mythologies are "sedimented" through the "reiteration of a norm or set of norms" which form "regulatory schemas" (p.14). This process of "performativity as citationality" (p.12) has the material consequence of establishing "normative conditions under which the materiality of the body is framed and formed" (p.17).

D'Emillio and Freedman (1988) have chronicled the historical shifts in the dominant discourse of the sexual narratives in this country. In colonial culture, for example, the clergy and community monitored sexuality, and sex was privileged only within marriage and then only as reproduction. Over the last century and a half the cultural control over sexuality shifted from the purview of the clergy to the medical community. In what Katz (1996) has described as the "doctor discourse," early sexologists dominated scientific discourse with extensive categorizations of sexual behavior. They were ultimately overshadowed by Freud's provocative psychoanalytic tales of infantile sexuality, Oedipal complexes, etc. A second generation of sex researchers appeared in the mid-twentieth century led by Alfred Kinsey. Even today the medical implications of sexually related issues such as birth control and AIDS keep us ensconced in scientific sexual discourse.

Nevertheless, a number of counter narratives have evolved over the last quarter of a century to challenge the dominant moral and medical discourses. Feminist have led debates challenging the patriarchal hierarchy of sex discrimination, reproductive rights, and sex roles. Gay, lesbian, and bisexual voices have been added to those of feminists to critique the hegemony of heterosexuality. Postmodern and post-structuralist thought have further disrupted the dominant discourse with the deconstruction of such subjects as the heterosexual/homosexual binary, the performance of sexual identities, and gender.

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted as a collaborative inquiry in which the primary data were women's sexual life histories. Integral to collaborative inquiry is that all participants (or researchers as they are referred to here) hold approximately the same positional power in relationship to each other and the topic being addressed. The topic of inquiry is jointly agreed upon, and data are gathered from and belong to all participants. Although not all participants are interested in doing the work of the research such as transcribing, coding, and writing, all members participate in interpretation and dissemination of the inquiry results.

Structuring the initial data collection around sexual life histories was important in several ways: it emphasized narrative in an organized and consistent way; it allowed the participants to think about how they might address the topic in advance; it allowed participants to make meaning of their lives at the moment of the inquiry; it placed events in each woman's life in a larger socio-historical context; it provided the forum for a level of intimacy to develop that enabled laughter, empathy, reframing, questioning, and acceptance through more complete understanding of individual experiences to develop. We shared our sexual life histories over a period of two days with a follow-up day a year later in which we updated each other on our histories, reflected on the collaborative inquiry experience, and examined the coding and elaborated on and contested tentative interpretations of the data.

The study included ten women in two separate groups. Our ages range from 41 to 51. Ethnically, the two groups included two Hispanics and eight Anglo women. Religious identity included Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, agnostic, and independently spiritual. Seven of the ten had been married to men. At the time of the first round of data collection, three remained married to men, five were in long-term relationships with women, and two were celibate.

The analysis has focused in two areas: (1) identification of the cultural myths and socio-historical discourses or narratives that appeared to have structured the decisions, actions, and meanings women gave to their lives, and (2) the transformative learning process, both within the women's lives and as a part of the collaborative inquiry process.

MYTHS, DISCOURSES, AND NARRATIVES

Two of the researchers analyzed each story for narratives structure. We identified four classes of narrative by which we had structured and limited our lives: dominant, shadow, silent, and counter. Gender and sexuality were interdependent aspects of all of these narratives.

The dominant gender narrative was that girls aren't/shouldn't be too bright, big, tall, good at sports, as free to run around or do as many interesting things as boys, wear functional clothes, or go without a shirt. Women described feeling these limitations as part of their childhood and adolescent socialization. Failure to conform to these narratives carried with it the threat of failure at living out the dominant sexual narrative.

The dominant sexual narrative was that women get married and have kids. No other "successful" options exist. Women are sexual with men. Women use their sexuality to establish and maintain this relationship. Problems with conforming with this narrative are viewed as medical problems requiring either physical or mental health remediation. Successful enactment of this narrative is synonymous with health. Sexuality is either straight or lesbian. This straight/lesbian duality is read in the society as a behavioral narrative, but is in fact a political narrative resulting in the polarization of our understanding of our own sexuality and the silencing and making invisible of any but polarized behavior.

We called the "dark" side of the dominant narrative the shadow narrative. The shadow narrative is a silent narrative; it is a private narrative with public expression only in the dark spaces of the public domain. The shadow side of the "get married and have kids" narrative is abuse - child physical and sexual abuse, spousal abuse, and rape. The shadow narrative is usually only whispered if spoken at all. It often does not even exist as a narrative for those who enact or are enacted by it.

We called our unstoried (often even to ourselves) experiences the silent narrative. In our group, "too smart, too big," "sex is boring," "attraction to women," and "marriage is the end of life," were all silent. The silent narrative may be accompanied by shame, anger, fear or disappointment. The silent narrative is necessarily a private narrative since it exists as a truncated story line with only the most rudimentary language to express it. Since the dominant narrative does not story its enactment, the silent narrative remains formless. When given public expression through language and storying, silent narratives are profoundly subversive in that they tell of lived experience that undermines the universality claimed by the dominant narrative.

The counter narrative is a public narrative that is placed in opposition to the dominant narrative. It is a well-storied narrative with adequate language and storyline to enable people to story their lives within its boundaries. As an oppositional narrative, it derives its main storyline as a direct counter to the limiting scripts of the dominant narrative. Counter-narratives are produced as the collective effort of groups of people. The major counter-narrative we identified was the gay/lesbian identity narrative.

Each of the women in our groups described perceiving herself as not fitting in with what we later identified as the dominant gender or sexual narrative. Attraction to women, being too big or too smart, finding gender roles too constraining or "boring", being disappointed with initial sexual experiences with men, being "poor white trash", and being Mexican were the kinds of experiences that made us see ourselves as "misfits." However, the power of the dominant narrative to "write" the choices we made in our lives was apparent in our attempts to either "fit", subvert, or escape the narrative.

SEXUAL IDENTITY, TRANSFORMATION AND COLLABORATIVE INQUIRY

Sexual identity was described as a public claim that was only sometimes correlated with actual sexual practices. Sexual identity claims such as "lesbian" or "straight" referred to an affinity with a cultural or social group rather than a description of actual sexual behavior. Sexual identity claims were cultural signifiers rather than descriptions of static core constructs of self. In fact, for those who came to lesbian relationships in their late thirties or later, the claim to a lesbian identity held little meaning. As one woman said, "Lesbian as an identity came into my life too late to be an identity. I already had my identity and it didn't have to do with being with a man or a woman."

It is in the process of restorying our lives so as to recover unstoried experience that we transform ourselves. Thus, individual transformation can be understood from this study as occurring when we become aware that the narratives by which we have storied our life are inadequate to our lived experience. This seems to occur over time through a process of increasing awareness of our own experience and the discovery that others have had that experience, as well. These others provide a model for how the experience can be understood and enacted within a social context, or in other words, provide us with the outline of a social narrative within which we can construct our own story. For example, several of the researchers in our study described affirming their own lesbian sexuality by finding other lesbians in books, movies, and public spaces like bars or universities.

The context of collaborative inquiry seems to provide a context for developing the language to tell our unstoried experience. The collaborative inquiry group shares or witnesses our shadow and silent narratives, finding personal "truths" in each others' stories. We narrate our lives in the presence of a real or imagined audience. The collaborative inquiry group provides safe space to venture into unstoried areas of our experience. As one researcher explained, "I think I couldn't have talked about it without the group because I had never talked about it before. I just didn't know I had a story. I had to hear what other stories were about before I could see if I had one, too." Participants in a collaborative inquiry group bear witness to each person's construction and reconstruction of herself. Collaborative inquiry is not about participants' relationship to ideas as much as their relation to themselves and each other.

But collaborative inquiry is not only personally, but socially transformative, as well. Bruner (1986) writes, "It is in the performance of an expression that we re-experience, re-live, re-create, re-tell, re-construct, and re-fashion our culture. The performance does not release a pre-existing meaning that lies dormant in the text. Rather the performance itself is constitutive" (p.11). Researchers in a collaborative inquiry group are rewriting culture and this reauthoring affects not only their lives, but lives outside the group. For example, one researcher in the group, a psychologist, explained, "Many times in my work with women bringing up different kinds of issues, something we talked about or one of you said somehow comes back to me. And I'm able somehow to make that useful to a client." The group becomes a cultural space in itself and researchers carry the new narratives and power of those with whom they created them into the larger world.

SUMMARY

This study, by addressing sexual identity development among women, transgresses the boundaries between private and public knowledge by moving private knowledge into the public realm and thereby placing it as one among other public narratives on women's sexuality. Women's lives, like those of all people, can be understood as narratively structured. Since narrative can be understood as a social construction we write our lives within the broad pattern of dominant social discourse. Nevertheless, as in the stories these women told, we do not just write our lives according to the dominant discourse, we weave our lives around it in a myriad of variations and subversions. Although our thoughts and actions appear to be structured by dominant social narratives, we can disrupt the power of those narratives within our lives when we begin to become aware of experience that exceeds or falls outside of the dominant narratives and begin to narrate that experience.

Thus, transformative learning as understood through the analogy of narrative seems to occur when personal experience exceeds the narratives by which we have storied our lives. Others provide us with language, confirm its public meaningfulness, and adopt the language and bits of narrative we produce and begin to use them to story their own and others' experiences. The essence of transformation is the production and/or adoption of a publicly acknowledged narrative that seems to more adequately story our experience. Narratives cannot be constructed without an audience. Without an audience, they fold in on themselves and finally disappear. The creation of narrative is an intersubjective process. We weave our lives together with the lives of others and through the emotional engagement of lives interwoven, we are transformed.

Collaborative inquiry groups provide a fertile context for this kind of transformation. However, these groups take us beyond individual and into cultural transformation by providing a social context within which we can develop a collective language for narrating shadow and silent discourses. Developing a collective narrative constitutes one step toward moving oppressed narratives out of silence and into the public realm. Collaborative inquiry as a form of research dignifies newly narrated experience as formal knowledge and moves it out of the position of subjugated knowledge and into the position of one of multiple possible narratives in which others can find their own unstoried experience expressed.

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The Myth Of The Universal Adult Educator: A Literature Review

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Abstract: This paper critically evaluates the adult education literature with respect to how it deals with the race and the gender of the teacher as a factor in the teaching-learning environment. The mainstream literature perpetuates the myth of the universal teacher while the narratives of African American women transcend the myth.

Problem and Purpose

Although there exists a bounty of literature on teaching adults in the mainstream adult education literature there is a conspicuous absence of discussion of how the race and gender of the teacher effects the teach-learning environment. This absence perpetuates the myth of the universal adult educator, one void of race and gender. The myth of the universal adult educator proposes that all teachers would encounter the same things within the classroom and could therefore produce the same results as any other teacher if they follow the prescriptive practices outlined in books on teaching and facilitating adult learners. The problem is that teachers are affected by institutional and classroom environments along with both political and societal factors. Teacher's interpretation of their experiences are influenced by their cultural background and their own sense of personal agency (Dilworth, 1990; Foster, 1993; Tisdell, 1993). Moreover, Dilworth (1990) and Lappan and Briars (1995), advocate that teachers have beliefs about teaching and the teaching-learning process that stem from their own experiences and influence their teaching practices. These attitudes according to Carl (1995) inevitably affect student achievement more than any other classroom factor. Additionally, Gollnick (1992), Irvine (1989) and Rakow (1991) support the belief that the teaching-learning environment is influenced by the teacher's personal characteristics.

The purpose of this literature review is to critically evaluate the adult education literature with respect to how it deals with the race and the gender of the teacher as a factor in the teaching-learning environment. This seems especially appropriate considering that Sandler (1991) proposes that "men and women, teaching in the same classroom, teaching the same subject to the same students, have very different experiences" (p. 12). Rakow (1991) and Tisdell (1992) found that those privileged by their White race or male gender wield more power in the classroom than minorities.

Methodology

An ERIC search revealed numerous books and chapters on teaching and facilitating adult learning (Apps, 1989; 1991; Barer-Stein & Draper, 1993; Brookfield, 1986; 1990; 1995; Cross, 1981; Daloz, 1986; Dickenson, 1973; Draines, Draines, & Graham, 1993; Draves, 1988; Frasler, 1938; Galbraith, 1991, Jones, 1986; Knowles, 1980; 1986; Knox, 1980; Lenz, 1982; Lewis, 1986; Lindhorst, 1951; Miller, 1977; Reese, 1978; Renner, 1994; Rogers, 1986; Seaman & Fellenz, 1989; Westmeyer, 1988; Wilson, 1983). In addition to this mainstream literature the narratives of actual African American women adult educators were analyzed. Included in these narratives are Septima Clark

(1962), who was instrumental in her work at Highlander, Dorothy Robinson (1978), Mamie Fields (1983) contemporary adult educator bell hooks (1994). Additionally, the narratives of the African American women researched by Casey (1993), Etter-Lewis (1993), and Foster (1990, 1991) were analyzed.

Findings

Several prescriptive practices occur often in the mainstream literature. This literature evaluates all teachers as one and the same. They present prescriptive practices that suggest that all teachers enter into the classroom on equal levels and construct a positive teaching-learning environment by following prescribed practices. The bulk of adult education literature includes research that does not consider either the race or gender of the teacher or learner. Several examples of this can be seen in the following foundational research studies: Apps, 1989; 1991; Barer-Stein & Draper, 1993; Knowles, 1980; 1986; Knox, 1980; Lenz, 1982; and Seaman & Fellenz, 1989. These works center around prescriptive practices with the major categories being 1) climate setting; 2) techniques for teaching; and 3) learner involvement . Consequently, an examination of the mainstream adult education literature reveals that the discussion of how the race and gender of the adult educator might affect the learning environment is absent

In addition, the adult education literature routinely broaches the subject of the social settings that involve the student and the teacher, but neglects to delve into the intricacies of their social context. Furthermore the specific race and/or gender with its resulting impact is not considered but merely mentioned. Examples of such, includes research studies that are the infrastructure of adult education: Brookfield (1986, 1990, 1995), Knowles (1980), Galbraith (1991), Knox(1980, 1986), Lenz (1982), Apps (1989, 1991), Seaman and Fellenz (1989), and Barer-Stein and Draper (1993). Even though some of these authors mention the race and gender of the learner, these discussions negate race and gender of the teacher by neglecting to closely examine either.

For instance Brookfield (1986; 1990) acknowledges that the classroom is affected by political and societal changes and that adult learners may scrutinize the actions of the adult educators in light of recent politics but none of his examples address the race or gender of the teacher. Furthermore, Brookfield argues that competency and credibility are characteristics which effective adult educators must have. However he fails to acknowledge how the race and gender of the teacher might impact upon how others acknowledge their competency and credibility and how teachers because of their nondominant race and/or gender may have trouble establishing their credibility in the classroom. Nonetheless, Brookfield (1990) like Galbraith (1990) does insert into his discussion of power in the classroom how the race and gender of the learner influence the environment but fails to mention the race and gender of the teacher. Brookfield and Galbraith acknowledges that the diversity of the learner affects the teaching-learning environment but they imply or assume that the race and gender of the teacher does not affect the teaching-learning environment.

Similarly, Knowles (1980) asserts that learning is influenced by the quality and amount of interaction between the learners and their environment but does not mention how the power dynamics caused by the race or gender of the teacher affects the environment. Additionally, Knowles states that a climate conducive to learning should be one "which causes adults to feel accepted, respected, and supported; in which there exists a spirit of mutuality between teachers and students as joint inquirers; in which there is a freedom of expression without fear of punishment or ridicule" (1980, p. 47). Knowles' stance on creating the right psychological climate involves giving generic generalizations to adult educators. Knowles does not address the issue of how the race and gender of the teacher might influence these conditions. Yet one could argue that these conditions can be affected by this fact because it is logical that societal relations outside the classroom also impact the classroom climate. His comments assume that the adult educator is universal and neutral. One could propose, also that the teacher's perception of their race and gender might influence the classroom interaction.

Accordingly, Seaman and Fellenz (1989) acknowledge that a discussion of a learning environment must include the people involved and how their characteristics affect the learning environment but again they do not involve themselves in a discussion on the race and gender of the teacher. They do however, say that adult educators may have barriers, obstacles or problems that prevent them from conducting an ideal climate in the learning environment. Seaman and Fellenz do not delineate the barriers or obstacles. Although not stated by the authors these barriers or obstacles could pertain to the race and gender of the adult educator.

Also, Knox suggests the teacher's personal characteristics affect the learning environment although he does not specially mention the race or gender of the teacher. Similarly, Lenz (1982) argues that the teacher as an authority figure can subtly or openly influence students toward a particular doctrine or system of principles even though she neglects to mention how the teacher's race or gender might inform her or his doctrine. Moreover, she stresses that adult educators should place special emphasis on the teacher-learner relationship because this logistical factor contributes significantly to the teaching-learning environment. Lenz fails to acknowledge how the race and gender of the teacher may influence establishing relationships with their students.

Furthermore, Apps (1991) and Barer-Stein and Draper (1994) argue that culture is always present in human interaction between students and teachers but they do not address specifically the race and gender of the teacher. Although Apps says that adult educators must "engage their entire personality, how they think, what they know, and how they know it, and how they feel and why they feel that way" in the teaching process (1991, p. 1), he fails to give evidence to support an argument that the race and gender of the adult educator would most definitely impact upon the teaching-learning environment. Apps even goes on to say that "each of us, whether we are always aware of it or not, has a set of values formed by the communities in which we grew up, as well as by our religion, social status, and ethnic background" (1991, p. 113). Yet, Apps does not address specifics pertaining to how these culturally influenced values might influence ethical classroom decisions. He does however discuss the fact that the teacher needs to strive to take a neutral or fair position in presenting diverse sides of questions. It would seem appropriate for Apps to speak to the race and gender of the teacher and its effect on the learning environment as logical progression of his position. He does not.

In Barer-Stein and Draper's discussion of culture they explain that there is no such thing as neutral adult education. They proclaim that "education that does not seek to change conditions reinforces the existing system" (1994, p. 173). Barer-Stein and Draper believe that adult educators need to have an understanding of the implications of culture on themselves, as well as the learning environment. Nonetheless, they still lean toward universal ways to address cultural diversity and do not discuss how the adult educator's own race and gender might impact her or his praxis strategy.

Nevertheless, even though the mainstream adult educators do not discuss the impact of race and gender on the teaching-learning environment, a discussion of how race and gender influence the teaching-learning environment is present in thei narratives of actual African American women educators. These narratives of actual educators are not considered to be a part of the mainstream adult education literature. These narratives show that race and gender were always a part of the teach-learning environment. All of these African American women, while combatting challenges to their competency and philosophies because of their race and gender, also battled institutional constraints on their lives, careers, and practices (Casey, 1993; Clarke & Blythe, 1962; Fields & Fields, 1983; Foster, 1990; hooks, 1994; Robinson, 1978).

A theme that emerged from the literature is that these African American women teachers believed that their teaching philosophy, competency, and teaching practices were questioned by those persons who considered themselves more powerful (Bey, 1995; Casey, 1993; Clarke & Blythe, 1962; Delaney, Delaney, & Hearth, 1993; Fields & Fields, 1983; Foster, 1987; 1990; 1991; hooks, 1994; King, 1991; Phelps, 1995; Robinson, 1978). Robinson stated that, "there were some Whites who felt that Black teachers, by virtue of cultural traits and limited professional training facilities just had to be inferior" (1978, p. 110). As a result of this, these African American women teachers often felt alone, isolated, and not involved in positive relationships with those individuals. bell hooks, who has taught from 1976 to the present in only integrated settings, told of her experiences with similar issues. She first talked about the white women professors in the Women's Studies department. Even though hooks started teaching a course on Black women writers from a feminist perspective in her undergraduate and graduate years, White women professors who were developing women's studies departments did not nurture her interests. In fact, her class was not considered a part of the Women's Studies Department but a part of the Black Studies Department. hooks further recalled that her work was not accepted by these White women feminists because it challenged their privileged way of thinking (hooks, 1994).

Through their narratives these African American women teachers support the idea that it is hard to teach only content. For example, hooks reiterated the notion that the majority of the students that she teaches have never been taught by a Black woman professor before entering her class. She states, "I know from experience that this unfamiliarity can overtly determine what takes place in the classroom (1994, p. 86). The following words of hooks succinctly summarize the sentiments of the African American women whose narratives were reviewed,

> Many professors are disturbed by our [African American women] overt discussion of political standpoints. A White male professor in an English department who teaches only works by "great White men" is making a political decision. We [African American women] had to work consistently against and through the overwhelming will on the part of

> folks to deny the politics of racism, sexism, and so forth that inform how and what we teach (hooks, 1994, p. 370).

Not only did teachers question the philosophy and methods of teaching that these African American women teachers practiced, but so did administrators. By the same token these African American women teachers also spoke of other persons who questioned their work. Fields said "we (Black teachers) worked hard, knowing all the time that in the eyes of the powers to be, the Negro teachers really didn't amount to much" (Fields & Fields, 1983, p. 130). The colleagues of bell hooks challenged her work for use by students in their classes. hooks recalled them telling students that her work was not scholarly enough. According to her this resulted in students having a low expectation of her work and students not acknowledging her credibility.

Consequently, their narratives displayed the following: 1) a redefinition of the career of teaching as they reflected on and built on their own past experiences (Casey, 1993; Clarke & Blythe, 1962; Fields & Fields, 1983; Foster; 1990; 1991; hooks, 1994; Robinson, 1978) and 2) a display of progressive teaching philosophies, by engaging in creative, responsive teaching practices while building relationships with their students and communities in the pursuit of uplifting their race (Casey, 1993; Clarke & Blythe, 1962; Fields & Fields, 1983; Foster, 1995; hooks, 1994; Robinson, 1978), all of which were influenced by their race and gender. These narratives give evidence to support the position that adult educators need to go beyond merely proposing prescriptive practices and generalizations about teaching adults to address the issue of how the race and gender of the teacher influences the teaching-learning environment.

Significance

"The notion that African American women are an invisible group on the sidelines and that they can be easily combined with other groups is a convenient fiction that conceals their power and importance" (Etter-Lewis, 1993, p. xvii). There are various power disparities in society between women and men and between and within races. Furthermore, these power disparities which exist in society are often maintained in the classroom (Johnson-Bailey, 1994; Tisdell, 1992). Adult educators making new contributions to the literature on teaching adults by including information about the race and gender of the teacher in the teaching-learning environment will empower those teachers who are not privileged by male gender or White race. Additionally, this literature review should generate interest in conducting further studies focusing on how the race and gender of the teacher influences the teaching-learning process. The implication resulting from this literature review is that adult educators need to consider the gender and race of the teacher in all of its writings about classroom climate, delivery, and praxis. Furthermore, adult educators should also examine how their own race and gender influences their classroom practices and climate.

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Interactions in Distance Education: A Report from the Other Side

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Abstract

This observational study investigated the kinds of interactions among and between students, instructors, the media, and the environment in distance education courses. In addition to confirming the interaction types reported in the literature, learner-environment interaction was documented. Interaction chains, interaction objects, and interaction subjects were described.

Introduction

To date research about adult learners at a distance has focused primarily on learners' motivations, persistence, and satisfaction (Baker and Platten, 1988; Coggins, 1988; Egan, et al., 1992; and Wilkes and Burnham, 1991). Some researchers have employed standardized measurement instruments (Biner, Dean, and Mellinger, 1994; Coggins, 1988; Dille and Mezack, 1991; Pugliese, 1994; and Wilkes and Burnham, 1991). All of these studies and many others (Burge and Howard 1990, Dille and Mezack 1991, Garrison, 1990; Pugliese, 1994) have employed a survey methodology. Anderson and Garrison (1995) are exceptions in that they first employed a survey method and then followed up with class observations and interviews. The gathered data have generally been the result of self-reports which have been interpreted from an outsider's perspective. While we may know and understand a great deal about who distance education students are, what motivates them, and how well they enjoy their experiences, we do not know much about what happens in a learning situation where the teacher is not present.

The Study

We conceptualized the distance education setting as being comprised of methods (distance education, or the way learners are organized in society), techniques (teaching procedures, or the way in which subject matter is introduced to learners) and devices (equipment, or the things we used to assist us in providing instruction). Using the framework that Verner (1962) introduced over 30 years ago. Burnham and Seamons (1987) updated it to accommodate electronic distance education. Figure 1 provides a representation of a learning situation where methods and techniques are enabled by devices by bringing learners in contact with instructors and subject matter content (Stubbs and Burnham, 1990). Devices in this framework can range from the most modern technological device (the latest computer) to the oldest (the book or other written source of information).

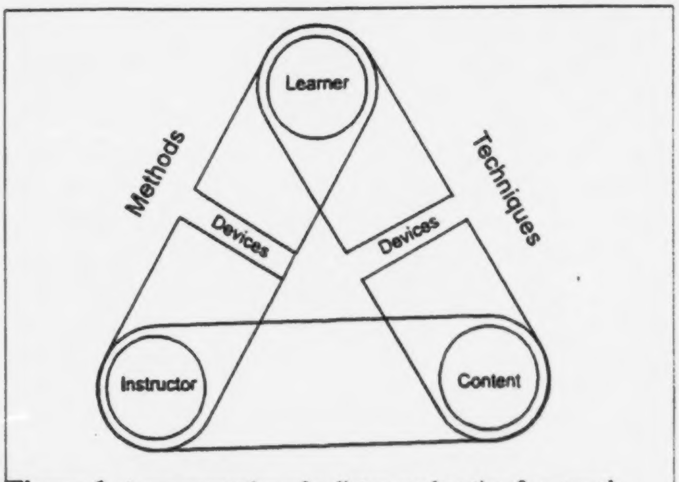

Figure 1 A representation of a distance education framework (from Stubbs and Burnham, 1990)

In essence we were studying a new method of education which called for an open stance toward the research problem. As a result we chose a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis. We did, however, have *a priory* questions that we wanted answered, the essence of positivistic research.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the behaviors of the learners from the "other side" of distance education — the students' perspectives. The research questions were "what interactions do learners at a distance exhibit that influence their learning, what events prompt and end such behavior, and what observable outcomes result?" By answering these questions through careful observation, problems attendant to other forms of data collection in distance education were avoided. An example of such problems include the incorrect interpretation of apparently positive course evaluations. These often confuse very positive attitudes toward access to higher education courses with negative attitudes about *having* to study using this method. Another purpose of this study was to further investigate the phenomenon labeled parallel learning (Burnham, 1994) which is sociological in nature as contrasted to learning which is psychological in nature.

Methodology

Data gathering was done at the points of delivery and the interpretation of the data was done by someone engaged in the course work. One of the limitations to studying distance education in this manner means that our generalizations are limited. However, one of the strengths of the study is that we have a much more complete picture of the learning environment than careful measurements of limited constructs can produce. We also have an opportunity to enhance established constructs and to suggest new ones. However, gathering data in this fashion presented problems of travel and scheduling for a single researcher.

Role of researcher

Because data for this study were to be collected at the receive site we decided that the researcher should gather data as unobtrusively and covertly as possible so as not to influence the actions of either the learners or the instructors. The data collection was done while the researcher was enrolled in and attended several distance education courses. This meant that she had to participate in class discussions (both those instigated by instructors and those generated from other sources), take tests, and otherwise appear as much like a student as possible. A problem that confronted the researcher was establishing the line she would not cross on the contiuunum from being a detached observer to "going native." Opportunities to go native were plentiful and included instructor bashing, working on projects, and socializing with learners outside of the classroom situation.

Ethics

Because the data were collected by covert observation there was some concern about the ethics of such actions. These concerns were minimized by approval from the university's Institutional Review Board (IRB). Additionally, the public nature of instruction offered by a public university helped assure that this research approach was not unethical. While faculty may have had concerns, data collection was not focused on their behaviors. Finally, all names and other identifying clues were eliminated to preserve anonymity of the individuals observed.

Administrative clearance

In addition to approval from the IRB, and perhaps more difficult, permission was obtained from the university Admissions and Records Office for the researcher to register for the distance education courses so that she might appear as a typical university student. She was successful in registering for all course work as an auditing student and then after the courses concluded any reference to the courses were removed from the researcher's transcript of credits. The Dean of Continuing Education was very cooperative in helping the field researcher gain access to courses and sites.

The research environment

The technology system that was in place while we gathered data was an audio-graphic, two-way interactive system that recently had a major upgrade in its capacity just prior to the study. A two-way audio/graphic system allows the instructor to transmit static graphical images from the origination site to the receive sites. Two-way audio allows any one person to talk with all other parties at the same time. Participants must either push a mic button to talk or they can leave the mic key open.

The classes

Course work for the research was carefully selected using a number of dimensions: time of day, number of students, location of receive site, academic level, subject matter, and the number of sessions per week. Courses were selected to offer a wide variety of circumstances as possible to maximize the probability of different kinds of interactions begin observed.

Data collection

Data were collected through participant observation. Using the same observer at each site and course eliminated the problem of calibrating different observers to the same standard. However, in so doing, the chances for biased, subjective data gathering were increased. This problem was minimized by gathering as much information about as many variables as possible.

Field notes were made during class sessions and backed up with audio recordings. Taping the sessions at the remote site is rather common among students and did little or nothing to inhibit student interactions. Making field notes during the session was also easily done as students are typically taking notes during class periods.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was performed by constantly reviewing the field notes and then breaking them into discrete components of interaction. These components were then categorized as to the kind of interactions identified in the literature. The research team criticized the placement of the interaction components and finally a group of graduate students were used to check the categorization by the researchers.

Findings

Types of interaction

The behaviors of the students in distance education settings was described by the types of interactions described in the literature. Moore (1989) and Hillman et al. (1994) described learner-teacher, learner-content, learner-learner, and learner-media interactions in distance education environments. This study found that the definitions currently cited in the literature were helpful to a degree, but lack the richness of the interactions that occur in the field.

A fifth interaction, learner-environment was encountered. This is defined as a reciprocal action or mutual influence between a learner and the learner's surroundings that either assists or hinders learning.

The relative frequency of the of interaction types varied with the kinds of circumstances that might have triggered the events. For example, the failure of the technology would trigger interactions with the media on the part of the learners to correct the problem. If an instructor was unclear about directions or descriptions, then students would interact with one another in order to clarify the ambiguity.

An important finding of this study, in addition to the confirmation of the various types of interaction and the discovery of yet a fifth kind, is the notion that interactions have objects (things learners interact with or that influence the learner) and subjects (things that the interactions are about). These two elements can and should play an important part of any classification of interactions.

Another finding is that interactions themselves are trigger events for yet other interactions. This "chaining" of interactions filled much of class time. We do not know about the patterns and sequences of interaction chains. This is a promising area for further research because it offers promise for even deeper understandings of distance education.

Parallel learning

The learning environment in distance education is a dynamic one. Parallel Learning is defined as the acquisition of content taking place concurrently with but independently from the delivery of instruction. Students can and do acquire content independently of instructors in any kind of learning method, however, in a distance education setting such behaviors are distinctly observable because they usually involve other students at the receive site. Triggering mechanisms provoke interactions. For example, if an instructor is boring, confusing, or irrelevant students will engage one another about the subject matter at hand while ignoring the instructor. At some point they are brought back into the instructional stream by the behavior of the instructor or some other event.

Learning partnerships and groups

Learners form partnerships and groups on their own. The basis for these groups is either instrumental need or prior associations. For example, students will consistently ask certain students questions about how to perform certain tasks or questions about when materials are due. Some students form friendships that last over a term and into succeeding terms of study. The learning groups are more than coincidental and informal; they are purposive.

Implications

The implication of this research demonstrates that the distant education learning environment is a dynamic one which differs substantially from the traditional face to face environment. It creates an environment where the characteristics of adult learners can and do exhibit themselves in powerful ways. This has direct implications for the design of instruction. Teachers must acknowledge that they have less control in distance education settings than they do in a face to face setting. Perhaps scheduled queries and directive tasks can help keep students involved in the stream of instruction. Or, alternately, instructors may want to place more responsibility on the learner for content acquisition and processing to take advantage of naturally occurring parallel learning and learning partnerships.

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WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE OF ACADEMIC COLLABORATION

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Abstract. This study examines the experience of collaboration for women academics in adult education. While the women describe a range of collaborative experiences, they place the greatest value on more complex forms of collaboration in which the self, the partner(s), and the work exist in a highly dynamic and interactive relationship. This study suggests that collaboration provides one way in which women are creating life-giving spaces for themselves within the masculinist culture of the academy.

In the opening scene of A Room of One's Own, Virginia Woolf (1929) has her narrator sitting on the banks of the river that winds through Oxbridge, reflecting on the topic "women and fiction." Deep in thought, she gets up and begins to walk across the campus towards the library:

> Instantly a man's figure rose to intercept me. Nor did I at first understand that the gesticulations of a curious-looking object, in a cut-away coat and evening shirt, were aimed at me. His face expressed horror and indignation. Instinct rather than reason came to my help; he was a Beatle; I was a woman. This was the turf; there was the path. Only the Fellows and Scholars are allowed here; the gravel is the place for me....The only charge I could bring against the Fellows and Scholars of whatever the college might happen to be was that in protection of their turf, which has been rolled for 300 years in succession, they had sent my little fish [of an idea] into hiding. (p. 6)

Woolf's image vividly captures the idea of women's outsider status within the male-defined and male-dominated world of the academy, and many scholars have since explored the various dimensions of that outsider reality and its implications for women academics. Within that literature we were particularly impressed by the work of Aisenberg and Harrington (1988), whose study of tenure-track and nontenure-track women faculty illuminates the special challenges faced by women in being accepted within the academy. They argue that women, socialized to play a subordinate role and lacking the same degree of social and financial resources available to their male colleagues, are multiply handicapped in their professional development in academic life. While not chased away from academe by indignant Beatles in cut-away coats, women faculty are forced to adapt to male norms and standards, and few alternative models of academic work are considered legitimate.

We were curious about women's efforts in this context to explore alternative models of functioning, particularly in their

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role as scholars. While collaboration in research isn't a new modality, it is one which seems to be occuring with more frequency in recent years (Baldwin & Austin, 1995), and it is beginning to be an object of study in its own right (see, for example, Ede & Lunsford, 1990). The research on women's development (Caffarella, 1992) suggests that relationship is of central importance to women. We wondered what meaning academic women give to the collaborative relationship, and it is that question that became the focus of this study.

Methodology

We interviewed eleven women academics, all of them professors of adult education who are well established in their careers. All have collaborated with various partners, both with other women and with men, yet there is also significant variation among their experiences. Two of the women have a longterm collaborative relationship, having written together for approximately ten years. Two others are in the early stages of an extensive research project together. And four of the women are exploring the boundaries of collaboration itself by experimenting with new forms of epistemology; they have worked together for about six years. The interviews were open-ended and were conducted with small groups of the women, a process which enabled them to reflect together on their various experiences.

For our purposes here we will focus on two aspects of our findings: the nature of the collaborative relationship these women experienced; and the meaning they give to it--what we came to think of as the inner logic of the collaborative experience for these women.

The Nature of the Collaborative Relationship

We began each of our interviews by simply asking the women to describe their experience of collaboration. Consistently they responded by saying, "It depends...." In other words, they began by describing a range of experiences of collaboration, one that can be characterized in terms of the complexity of the relationship. At the low end are those collaborations which involve simple division of labor--the partners divide up the work, each taking responsibility for particular components of the research project. While there is a shared purpose and a degree of interaction with one another's work, authorship remains distinct over the separate elements. Midrange on the complexity continuum are those collaborations that have a higher degree of interaction, both conceptually and in the actual writing. Steed (1994) refers to "the multiplier effect" of this type of collaboration, where the relationship "pushes our personal understanding of the topic, and our ability to articulate that understanding, further than we might normally or reasonably do by ourselves" (p. 146). All of the women we interviewed spoke at some length about the enrichment of working with others at this level, experiencing the synergy of having their ideas expanded and creating something together that they never could have created working alone. Finally, at the higher end of the continuum we found a still more complex level of experience, what one of our women called "pushing the boundaries of what knowledge-making is about." This existed only among the groups with a longterm commitment to working together and it had a clear epistemological focus. At this end the collaborative relationship moves beyond synergy and towards developing new modes of intellectual engagement. Significantly, while all the women described collaborative experiences of various levels of complexity, what they talked about in the most detail and with the greatest intensity were those experiences that fell at the mid to higher levels of complexity. Clearly they place a higher value on these more advanced modes of collaboration.

In searching for an image or metaphor to describe the experiences these women academics shared with us, we were reminded of how Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) described the relationship of their women faculty to their research projects. In contrast to the instrumental relationship characteristic of male academics, where the research is used to further their careers, Aisenberg and Harrington found that women academics tend to identify personally with their research, often speaking of it in passionate terms as a love object, and they have difficulty "using it" to advance their careers. We were struck by that idea of personal engagement in the ways our women spoke about the collaborative experiences that meant the most to them, and we began to think in terms of a tripartide system to image that relationship. It consists of the self, the partner(s), and the work, linked together as a highly dynamic, fluid, and interrelated system. The women consistently spoke of their collaborations in ways that supported this idea of a living system, one with a life of its own, requiring nurturance and constant tending. As the relationship becomes more complex, the system seems to become more tightly interwoven.

There are essential elements that make up the women's experience of academic collaboration at different stages of development. For the relationship to be initiated, several factors have to be present. The women spoke first about what we would call personal attractors: an affinity for one another, and shared academic interests. One dyad recounted their first meeting and their immediate connections in terms of personal backgrounds and research efforts. A certain chemistry seems operative in both domains. Also significant, though, are the differences between the women who collaborate, and that openness --even eagerness--to embrace difference seems to characterize them. Those differences included personality style (introvert/ extrovert), cognitive style (linear/global), and working preferences (systematic/emergent). Another factor is personal readiness for the collaboration. One woman noted: "It just depends on...where you are as a person. I think that's real important because where I am as a person is real different right now from where I might have been five years ago. Now I'm interested in a different kind of collaboration, if that makes any sense." Finally, a bottomline concern for them seems to revolve around ego issues: all spoke about the necessity of sharing power and recognition. All of these factors seem to be required before the collaboration can even be initiated.

In the early stages of the relationship, several elements are evident. First is establishing what one of the women referred to as the "start-up thing." This reflection came from the dyad that has been working together for more than 10 years and was elicited in the portion of the interview where they each talked about writing with others:

> One of the things I remember thinking with [my new partner] was, I would realize that I was taking things for granted that [my stable partner] and I had worked out years ago....So there's a way in which you almost forget--all the agreements, all the insecurities about getting started, learning another voice. So there's a start-up thing that you have to do and you have to do it fairly well or it doesn't work as well. I haven't found that any other collaboration has been as smooth or as comfortable or as equal.

There is also the issue of what one woman called "mastering the rhythms" of their interaction--becoming sensitive to the needs of the partner(s) and to their ways of working together. Over time we also saw attention being given to clarifying the purpose of the collaboration. This was especially clear for the group of four women; they had initially come together to write a book, but gradually moved from that goal to the broader purpose of forging new epistemologies in the academy. Finally, the women often spoke of playing together, but doing so in order to engage the work in new ways; the stable dyad referred to this as "breaking the frame" and for them it meant going to museums or taking other side trips that would move them away from strictly linear thinking about their work.

In the more longterm collaborative relationships there were several elements that characterized the later stages of development. The location of the self becomes more indeterminate, and we see a kind of fuzzing of the self. This involves more than a blending of voices; it seems more like the creation of a new voice. The stable dyad illustrated this when they described their evolution into a new way of writing together. They began their second book by each writing separate chapters, sending them out for review, then coming together for a week to work on the whole text:

> We took our two power books, set them up side-by-side on the counter, and we decided that we couldn't continue to try to solve the problems in our own chapter. Instead what we needed to do was to take each other's chapter and completely rewrite it, then give it back to the first author to now

> wordsmith it after it had this major, major rewrite. And that just turned out to work incredibly well. And we did that yet again a third time.... That really became what I would call the real first draft.

Authorship in such a relationship must be constructed in a radically new way. Similarly we also saw conscious innovation at the level of epistemology. The group of four women were explicit about this when they described their work as "pushing the boundaries of what knowledge-making is about," and for them that includes developing new language:

> One of the things that happens in working collaboratively like this, as intensely as this, is that we begin to develop new language to express new reality....For anybody who's been "othered" out of the academy, there is an absence of language to be able to bring your particular knowledge into the academy. And the role that [our collaborative group] plays, I think, is to provide a place to start building that language.

Clearly these more advanced collaborations are intended to challenge the current norms of academic work.

It would be deceptive if we discussed these women's experience of academic collaboration without also addressing the difficulties they faced in sustaining those relationships. All of them spoke about the hard personal work required; as one woman said, "It's not all glorious." What is striking, however, is their willingness to do that relational work, even when it means putting the final product at risk.

The Inner Logic of Women's Academic Collaboration

Having examined the inner workings of the collaborative relationship these women academics experience, it's important to ask the wider question of its meaning for them, and to do that we need to situate their discussion within its context. If we consider again the masculinist norms of the academy, the choice to do collaborative research is, on the surface, illogical. Certainly the academy places the highest value on individual productivity, so collaborative work has less legitimacy. Why then would these women academics, who are already extremely busy, choose to take on more work--work which takes more time and effort and emotional attention than any research they do on their own--when the academic rewards for that work are limited?

In part the women explain this choice in terms of the quality of the work they are able to do collaboratively, and their arguments for this are persuasive. However, we think more than outcomes are at issue here. We believe these women are making a values statement through their countercultural choice. They are demonstrating in an academic context what we know to be true in other contexts--the central importance that connection has for women. Even more significantly, these women seem to see collaboration as one way to create a life space for themselves in the otherwise inhospitable environment of the academy. It may be that the inner logic of women's academic collaboration is the desire to make a room of their own in the sacred grove where they can live--and thrive--as scholars on their own terms and not on the terms set by men.

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The Measurement of Participation in Adult Education

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Abstract: This paper examines the disparate rates of participation in adult education that have been reported by the Current Population Survey and the National Household Education Survey. The authors examine issues including population coverage and sampling, survey nonresponse, the use of proxy respondents, and survey context effects.

Reliable estimates of participation in adult education (AE) are important for a number of reasons. One of the roles of these participation rates is to inform the public about the National Educational Goal that "By the year 2000, every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship." Participating in adult education may support achieving this objective. However, the measurement of particiption presents a number of challenges. Zemsky and Shapiro (1993), referring to training estimates, equate this effort to "measuring a mirage" and note that estimates vary "not just widely, but wildly."

This study is an assessment of reasons that estimates from the National Household Education Survey (NHES) and the Current Population Survey (CPS), two important studies that measure adult education participation, are so different. As noted in table 1, the estimates from the CPS are substantially lower than those from the NHES. The report examined a number of methodological, definitional, and operational factors that might have had an impact on the differences in the estimates. Some of these factors could be quantified so as to estimate the potential impact they had on the estimates, while other factors evade measurement given the available data. Relevant findings are summarized later in table 3 and discussed below.

The 1984 CPS estimate of participation in adult education excluding full-time college was 14 percent and for 1992 was 20 percent (table 1). An increase of 6 percent in adult education over the 8 years is reasonable given the efforts made by government and business to increase the skills of adults during this time. However, the two CPS studies used very different approaches, in particular, different approaches to selecting adults, that should have had a substantial influence on the participation estimates. The NHES indicates that some adults identified as nonparticipants at a screening stage are later found to be participants when interviewed themselves (referred to here as "switching"). If the CPS:84 had sampled all adults regardless of the responses of their participation status at the screening stage, it is estimated that the 'switching rate' would have caused the participation rate in 1984 to be 23 percent. This is close to the 26 percent switching-adjusted estimate from the CPS:92. This very modest increase in participation rates in adult education between 1984 and 1992 is not consistent with what experts in adult education expect, nor is it consistent with the higher rates estimated in the NHES. This raises some questions about the validity of the CPS:92 estimates.

Table 1.--Estimated number of adults age 16 and older[1] and percent participating in adult education: 1984-1995

Participation Rate	CPS:84	NHES:91	CPS:92	NHES:95	NHES:95 Splice
Number of adults (in thousands)	172,583	181,800	169,772	189,576	189,912
Any adult education activity	--[2]	37.9% (0.7)	24.0% (2.5)	44.3% (0.5)	44.6% (1.0)
Adult education activity excluding full-time degree programs	14.0% (0.1)	33.0% (0.7)	20.5% (0.5)	40.2% (0.5)	40.0% (1.0)

[1] Data from the 1984 survey (Hill 1987) include persons age 17 and older.

[2] Not available from the published report (Hill 1987).

NOTE: Standard error in parentheses.

SOURCES: 1984 and 1992 Current Population Survey (CPS), 1991 and 1995, National Household Education Survey (NHES),

Comparing the CPS and the NHES estimates, a number of factors were considered. One of the most obvious factors is the bias in the NHES estimates due to the failure to sample adults in households without telephones. However, the empirical evidence clearly indicates that the undercoverage bias in the NHES estimates is very small (less than one percent), especially when compared to the differences between the CPS and NHES estimates that range from 13 to 20 percent (Brick 1996).

A second methodological difference is the estimated bias due to nonresponse that affects both surveys, but has a larger impact on the NHES because of the lower response rate in this study. The nonresponse biases could not be estimated directly because of the lack of data on the differences between respondents and nonrespondents to the surveys. Nevertheless, by making some statistical assumptions about these differences, an upper bound on the differential nonresponse bias was estimated. The bound shows that the NHES may overestimate the participation rate by up to 5 percent more than the CPS. This is a potentially important source of bias, but it is an upper bound and the actual bias due to nonresponse is probably less than 5 percent.

A third potential source of error was the use of proxy respondents, particularly the practice in the CPS where other adults could respond for the sampled adult. In the NHES, the sampled adult was the only person who could complete the extended interview and the responses of other adults in the household were only used for sampling purposes. The use of proxy respondents was found to be an important predictor of AE participation of the adults in the sample, with those adults who responded themselves being more likely to report AE participation (table 2). By using logistic regression analysis, the potential impact of proxy reporting was estimated for the CPS:92. These findings show the estimates from the CPS:92 are biased downward by about 3 percent as a result of proxy reporting; adjusted rates are shown in table 3. No corresponding bias exists in the NHES estimates, since proxy reporting was not permitted.

Table 2.--Percent of adults participating in adult education activities, by source of report: 1992

Participation status	Number (in thousands)	Percent participating in		
		Any activity	Any activity excluding full-time college	Any activity excluding college
All adults	169,722	24.0	20.5	17.0
Self reporter	97,947	24.0	21.7	18.8
Proxy reporter	71,758	24.0	18.9	14.5

NOTE: Excludes about 8 percent of the sample, for whom the source of the report (self/proxy) was not identified.
SOURCE: Special tabulations from the 1992 Current Population Survey (CPS).

Table 3.--Observed and predicted participation rates if all adults had self-reported, by type of participation: CPS:92

Type of participation	Observed participation rate	Predicted self-reported participation rate
Any adult education activity	24.0	26.7
Activity excluding full-time college	20.5	22.7
Activity excluding college	17.0	20.1

SOURCE: Special tabulations from the 1992 Current Population Survey (CPS).

The next aspect of the surveys considered was the overall context of the surveys. The literature on context effects is diverse and addresses aspects of wording, sponsorship, and survey context (Dillman and Tarnai 1991; Schwartz and Hippler 1991; Sudman and Bradburn 1974). In some cases context effects can be substantial. The first two aspects of context that were considered were the introductory approach that sets the groundwork for the survey and questionnaire wording. The NHES:95 Splice sample, a methodological study especially designed and implemented to address these issues, reveals that these two factors are not a source of the differences between the NHES and CPS estimates.

Other context issues were considered but could not be quantified. One of these was the fact that the adult education questions in the CPS were a supplement to the core CPS survey. This clearly resulted in different operational approaches that may have influenced the interviewers and the respondents (Shapiro 1987). The training of interviewers for the adult education interviews was also obviously different. The question is whether this affected the estimates and, if so, by how much. In addition, supplemental status may result in the questions holding a place of lesser importance or focus in the minds of respondents, and perhaps interviewers. The second related issue is the sponsorship of the study. Sponsorship has been shown to have an influence on the responses to a survey, but again this cannot be quantified for these studies.

Putting these sources of error together and assuming the errors are additive, much of the difference between the NHES and CPS estimates of participation could be explained. For example, the NHES:91 estimate of 33 percent may be an overestimate by as much as 5 percent due to undercoverage and nonresponse bias, while the CPS:92 estimate of 21 percent may be an underestimate by as much as 3 percent due to proxy reporting and nonresponse. The remaining difference of 4 percent (28% - 24% = 4%) could easily be accounted for by context effects.

Table 3.--Summary of factors associated with possible biases in estimates of adult education participation, by survey and possible size of bias

Factor	Survey	Possible size of bias[1]
Sampling only participants	CPS:84	-9%
Sampling only telephone households	NHES:91, NHES:95, and Splice sample	<1%
Unit nonresponse	CPS:84 and CPS:92 NHES:91, NHES:95, and Splice sample	<3%[2] <8%[2]
Proxy respondents	CPS:84 and CPS:92	-3%[3]
Context effects		
Introductory statements	All surveys	No measurable effect
Wording	All surveys	No measurable effect
Supplemental status	All surveys	Unmeasurable[4]
Interviewer training	All surveys	Unmeasurable[4]
Survey sponsorship	All surveys	Unmeasurable[4]

[1] Bias is the difference between the survey estimate and expected population value. A negative bias indicates the survey estimate is less than the population value.
[2] Biases estimated for the CPS:92 and NHES:95.
[3] Bias estimated for the CPS:92.
[4] These context effects can not be estimated from the available data, but could be substantial.
SOURCES: 1984 and 1992 Current Population Survey (CPS), 1991 and 1995 National Household Education

While this approach does account for much of the difference, it is not a very satisfying solution for several reasons. First, based on the analysis of the impact of the sampling approach, the CPS:92 estimates appear to be out of line with the other estimates, including the CPS:84 estimates. Adjusting the CPS:84 estimates for not sampling persons screened as nonparticipants who might have reporting participating themselves (i.e., "switchers") results in an estimate of 23 percent, only very slightly lower than the 26 percent switching-adjusted CPS:92 estimate. Second, the differential nonresponse in the two surveys is really an upper bound and the difference between the NHES and CPS due to this source is probably much less than 5 percent. Third, it is unlikely that the error sources are actually completely additive. The errors due to coverage, nonresponse, use of proxy respondents, and context effects almost certainly interact in some complex ways. However, approximating the influence of these effects as additive is all that can be done, given the data, and appears to be a reasonable approach.

The evidence that most conflicts with this simple approach to summing the errors is the response bias study conducted in the NHES:95 (Brick et al. 1996). This study involved an intensive reinterview with a sample of NHES:95 respondents. All of the sampled participants (based on the original NHES:95 interview) who were included in that intensive reinterview study proved to be participants, while 41 percent of the sampled nonparticipants reported an adult education activity that they had not reported in the original interview. The activities reported by these nonparticipants were examined and did appear to be real activities undertaken during the time frame of the survey. The findings of the NHES:95 response bias study strongly suggest that even the NHES:95 estimates, which are larger than any previous estimates of participation, may still underestimate participation. That study suggests that the estimates of participation rates might be substantially higher than 40 percent.

These issues make it difficult to arrive at a conclusion without some ambiguity, although some points appear to be based on solid foundation. The NHES estimates are probably subject to some bias due to nonresponse, but there is little bias coming from surveying only telephone households. The evidence from an NHES:95 response bias study indicates that respondents are actually underreporting, so the overall estimates of participation in adult education are probably even larger than the estimates produced from the NHES. The CPS estimates from 1984 and earlier were biased downward due to several sources, most notably the failure to interview adults classified as nonparticipants by the household respondent, proxy nonresponse, and context effects associated with the survey being a supplement to a labor force survey. The underreporting of activities noted in the bias study for the NHES:95 is probably even greater in the CPS due to the lack of training with respect to the adult education supplement.

Although the results of this study are subject to other interpretations, a reasonable conclusion is that the NHES estimates of participation are more accurate representations of the percentage of adults who participate in some type of adult education than the CPS estimates. As the NHES response bias study suggests, the participation rate is likely to be even higher than the NHES estimates due to respondent underreporting activities. The CPS estimates are depressed by the series of factors noted above. Furthermore, the NHES:95 Splice sample shows that change in the participation rate between 1991 and 1995 is a reflection of an actual change in the rates and not an artifact of the survey methodology (Kim et al. 1995).

Since the results of this study are not definitive, it is interesting to consider options that could be used to further investigate the differences between the NHES and CPS estimates if future studies were to be conducted. A study of the CPS might be most useful to test the hypothesis that the CPS is severely biased downward. To conduct such a study, another supplement to the CPS could be conducted follwed by an intensive reinterview of a subsample of the respondents (both proxy and sampled adults) to ascertain the size of the bias in the estimates. This approach is rather expensive and should only be considered if future adult education surveys might be conducted as supplements to the CPS.

The biggest potential source of error in the NHES, other than respondent underreporting which has already been at least partially examined in the response bias study, is unit nonresponse. This source of error is a significant problem for all telephone surveys, which often have lower response rates than in-person surveys. The importance of conducting the surveys using techniques to increase the response rates should always be considered, and studies of nonresponse might be undertaken. Different study designs should be considered, such as record check studies, where appropriate and feasible.

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Learning Strategies in the Corporate Setting

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Abstract

The learning strategies of financial planners with American Express were assessed with SKILLS. Results with this group of professionals confirm the distinct learning strategy groups uncovered in previous learning strategy research.

Introduction

American Express is one of the largest financial corporations in the world and one that prides itself on the positive relationships between its workers and the corporation. One of its divisions is American Express Financial Advisors (AEFA) which focuses on assisting clients with financial planning through advisement on balanced investment portfolios. One key element in secure financial plans is an adequate and appropriate life insurance component. Unfortunately, however, the financial planners who deal mostly in stocks and bonds have little or no training in the complicated ideas and concepts related to life insurance and life insurance's relationship to the tax code. To address this training need, American Express created the Risk Management Division six years ago; the 15 insurance specialists in this division provide training on life insurance concepts to all of the 6,000 financial planners in AEFA in the United States.

Like so many educators of adults, the trainers in the Risk Management Division evolved to their positions as a result of extensive experience and expertise in their business. Through natural charisma and sales techniques, they have been fairly successful in their endeavors to train others. However, despite record profits which can be attributed to their efforts and despite their division making it to the finals for the prestigious and highly coveted Malcolm Baldridge Award, this division is constantly seeking to improve its performance. Recently, through contacts with adult educators from Montana State University, these trainers became formally introduced to the principles in the adult education literature. Immediately, they seized upon the ideas which they saw useful for improving their performance and began to modify portions of their training program and to assess their individual teaching styles. One pilot project has led to increased sales commissions of approximately $4,000 per financial planner involved in the training and is being presented to the corporate managers as a model for future training sessions.

In this quest to improve their training, the Risk Management Division has undertaken a research study to better understand the learning strategies of the financial planners with whom they work. Utilizing Schon's (1987) ideas, they are seeking to create their own field-based knowledge upon which to improve practice and to become more reflective practitioners. Regardless of the type of setting, learners use various strategies to accomplish their learning needs. Learning strategies are those techniques or specialized skills that the learner has developed to use in both formal and informal learning situations (McKeachie, 1988). They are "the techniques and skills that an individual elects to use in order to accomplish a specific learning task....Such strategies vary by individual and by learning objective" (Fellenz & Conti, 1989, pp. 7-8).

Recent research in the area of learning strategies offers exciting findings for improving the teaching-learning transaction. For the past 20 years, research in the field of adult education has been following the twin thrusts of participation and self-directed learning (Fellenz & Conti, 1989). The participation research focuses on factors related to participation in and operation of the formal educational programs and has been conceptually fueled by Houle's learning orientations. The self-directed learning research has concentrated on the individual and upon contextual factors influencing that learning. The research by Kolody, which has uncovered five uniform groups of learners with distinct patterns of learning strategies (Kolody & Conti, 1996; Kolody, 1997), has the potential to begin to provide conceptual clarity to this area of research. In order to test the generalizability of Kolody's findings, learning strategies need to be tested with various groups in the very diverse field of adult education.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to investigate the learning strategies of the 6,000 financial planners in AEFA in the United States. While the immediate goal of the Risk Management trainers was to gain information for improving practice, this study is another in the growing body of research on learning strategies and expands this line of research to an audience that has not been included in previous learning strategy research. Much of the past learning strategy research has been with populations that are linked to post-secondary education or which are involved in areas which are commonly recognized as education. This population is from the type of organization that Knowles has labeled as "non-educational" agency.

Methodology

The target population for this study was the 6,000 financial planners in the 15 regions of AEFA in the United States. This paper reports on the initial analysis of the data collected for this nationwide study. Each of the Risk Management specialist in seven of the regions assisted in the collection of data in their region. Each administered instruments at training sessions which contained participants that were demographically representative of the financial planners in their region. Through this process, demographic and learning strategy data were collected on 422 financial planner from around the country. Slightly over three-fourths (77.6%) were males. The ages of the participants ranged from 20 to 74 with an average age of 40.3. Approximately one-third had been a financial planner for only one year while another third had 2-4 years experience and another third had over 5 years experience in the field. The group was well educated with 39.7% having a bachelor's degree, with 43.5% having credits or degrees past the bachelor's level, and most of the remaining 16.7% having some college credits. The income level for the group ranged from $2,000 to $1,000,000 with an average of $72,604. Thus, this group was representative of the financial planners in the country and was professionally very different from past groups in learning strategies studies.

Learning strategies were measured with the Self-Knowledge Inventory of Lifelong Learning Strategies (SKILLS). This valid and reliable instrument consists of real-life learning scenarios with responses drawn from the areas of metacognition, metamotivation, memory, critical thinking, and resource management (Conti & Fellenz, 1991). Each of the five areas consists of three specific learning strategies: Metacognition--Planning, Monitoring, and Adjusting; Metamotivation--Attention, Reward/Enjoyment, and Confidence; Memory--Organization, External Aids, and Memory Application; Critical Thinking--Testing Assumptions, Generating Alternatives, and Conditional Acceptance; and Resource Management--Identification of Resources, Critical Use of Resources, and Use of Human Resources. Using the twelve scenarios in the existing forms of SKILLS, the Risk Management trainers were involved as suggested in previous studies (Lockwood, 1997; McKenna, Conti, & Fellenz, 1994) in tailoring the scenarios to fit the real-life situations of the financial planners.

Findings

Past research studies with SKILLS have utilized multivariant analysis to investigate patterns in the data (Kolody, 1997; Lockwood, 1997; Strakal, 1995; Yabui, 1993). Discriminant analysis has been used to deductively impose sense upon the data while cluster analysis has been used to tease sense out of the data. In this study, several discriminant analyses were conducted to investigate the relationship between demographic variables and learning strategies. Cluster analysis was used to investigate the stability of the clusters found in learning strategies research with SKILLS (Conti & Kolody, 1996; Kolody, 1997).

Discriminant analysis is a statistical technique which allows the investigation of the differences between two or more groups in relationship to several variables simultaneously. In discriminant analysis as with other multivariate techniques, the emphasis is upon analyzing the variables together rather than singly. In this way, the interaction of the 15 learning strategy variables upon the groupings of a demographic variable were considered. Therefore, discriminant analysis was used to describe the combination of learning strategy variables that could be used to distinguish the groups for the demographic variables of gender, age, years experience as a financial advisor, educational level, and income.

Five separate discriminant analysis were conducted with the 15 learning strategies as the discriminating variables. Each of the five demographic variables considered in this study are common socio-economic variables that are believed to often effect human behavior. The results for all five analyses were similar; all failed to account for a significant amount of variance in the groups, and each only improved correct classification in the groups by approximately 10% over chance placement in the groups. The discriminant function for gender provided for the highest discrimination of the five demographic variables; however, this function was only a 16.58% improvement over chance placement. For the analysis of age, the sample was divided into quartiles, and the discriminant function provided a 10.23% improvement over chance placement. To analyze experience in the field as a financial advisor, the advisors were grouped into those with experience of 1 year, 2-4 years, and 5 or more years; the discriminant function for this analysis was an 11.49% improvement over chance placement. For educational level, the sample was categorized into those with a bachelor's degree, those with credits or degrees beyond the bachelor's level, and those with less than a bachelor's degree; the resultant discriminant function was a 10.94% improvement over chance placement. Finally, for income the groups which were one standard deviation above and below the mean were utilized because they formed distinct groups. The low income group consisted of the 15% of the sample with incomes of $30,000 and less while the high income group consisted of the 15% with incomes of $100,000 and more. The discriminant function for income was only a 7.96% improvement over chance placement. Thus, because all of the discriminant functions accounted for only a low amount of variance as indicated by their inability to greatly improve group classification over chance, all of the discriminant functions were judged as not useful in describing the learning strategy differences among groups identified by demographic characteristics.

Other research with SKILLS has used cluster analysis to identify distinct groups of learners. Kolody (1997) uncovered five clusters of learners in Canadian two-year schools. Combining this quantitative analysis with qualitative interviews of members of each cluster, she described the groups as Navigators, Monitors, Critical Thinkers, Engagers, and Networkers (Conti & Kolody, 1996, 1997; Kolody, 1997). Investigating the learning strategies of nursing students and using a similar research design, Lockwood (1997) found four groups which are subsets of these groups. In order to test the stability and therefore the generalizability of the groups in Kolody's study, the data from this study was combined with the data from Kolody's study, and the cluster analysis for a five cluster solution was recalculated.

The new data set contained 1,565 cases which consisted of the 1,143 learners in Kolody's study and the 422 financial planners. The addition of the financial planners represented a 37% increase in the amount of variance in the original sample used by Kolody. If Kolody's grouping are accurate, then the introduction of this new variance into the sample should not allow for much change in the cluster membership of her original group. However, if her groupings are not representative of general learning groups and are only specific to her sample, then much movement should have resulted in cluster membership from the original analysis when this new variance was interjected into the analysis.

Quick cluster analysis with the combined data set produced five clusters that were remarkably similar to the original clusters from Kolody's study. Despite the existence of the new variance in the analysis, most of those from Kolody's study were retained in their original clusters. The percentage of original members of Kolody's sample who made up each cluster in the new analysis were as follows: Navigators--89.4%, Networkers--89.4%, Critical Thinkers--88.2%, Engagers--82.6%, and Monitors--79.1%. The percentage of change in the size of the original clusters was small for three clusters, moderate for one cluster, and nearly equal to the amount of variance introduced for one cluster: Monitors--4.4%, Engagers--7.6%, Critical Thinkers--9.9%, Navigators--18.3%, and Networkers--36.2%.

Although Kolody's original groups were nearly equal in size, the financial planners were not equally distributed across the five clusters. They were concentrated most heavily in the Navigator (31.5%) and Network (31.3%) groupings. Slightly fewer (17.1%) than one-fifth of the group were Engagers. The smallest groups were the Critical Thinkers (12.3%) and the Monitors (7.8%). Thus, the financial planners constitute a subset of Kolody's original groups much like the nurses in Lockwood's study. Both of these subsets were composed of samples from a professional setting which were smaller than Kolody's sample and which were tested with SKILLS scenarios with a heavy emphasis on professional situations. Hence, these more specific professional situations may be attracting learners with certain learning strategies and dissuading others from pursuing the profession.

Discussion

As a result of research studies utilizing SKILLS, a body of knowledge is accumulating related to the concept of learning strategies. Since these studies are using a common instrument and similar designs, patterns are beginning to emerge concerning learning strategies. These studies validate the situational nature of learning strategies and support that individuals do elect to use different techniques or skills in order to accomplish divergent learning tasks. Indeed, different strategies are employed in learning for personal use than for professional situations (Lockwood, 1997; McKenna, 1991; Strakal, 1995).

Distinct groups of learners who use specific learning strategies exist. Every study using cluster analysis with SKILLS has found clear groupings of learners (Hays, 1994; Kolody, 1997; Lockwood, 1997; Strakal, 1995; Yabui, 1991). While most of these studies had very specific populations, Kolody's had a large and general population. The five groups from her study appear to be the most universal of any of the studies, and the groups from the other studies can be viewed as subsets of these five groups. Results from this study support the stability of Kolody's five groups.

Learning groups are broadly dispersed throughout a population. Just as with the financial planners, demographic variables have consistently failed to be associated with discriminating between groups of learners when learning strategies are used as the discriminating variables (Kolody, 1997; Lockwood, 1997; Strakal, 1995). When such categorizations fail to produce differences, it is because the variance is equally distributed across the groups. Thus, learning strategies are not associated with common demographic variables. They cut across all visible groupings. While some specific professional situations may contain subsets of the five learning strategy groups, instructors can expect to find all groups in the learning situations which they enter. Demographics will not disclose the learning strategies of the learner to the instructors. Instead, the keys to the beginning diagnosis of the learning strategies of the learner must be sought in the general behavior displayed by the five groups.

Thus, learning strategies can provide a better understanding of the needs of adult learners. A knowledge of group and individual learning strategy preferences can furnish valuable information for planning learning activities for specific groups such as financial planners. Likewise, familiarity with the five groups of learners can be a powerful tool for initially assessing the needs of the adult learner; however, the labels from this grouping can be detrimental if they are used to avoid critical thinking about the learners (Conti & Kolody, 1997). Such a knowledge of the learner can allow adult education activities to either teach people the learning strategies they need to be successful in their learning, or it can provide them an opportunity to practice the strategies they already have (Smith, 1982). The research on learning strategies is developing rapidly. While it will undoubtedly change more in the future, it is currently providing new insights into the adult learning process which can be applied immediately by practitioners.

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Learning Within a Social Movement: The Chicago African-American Experience

Phyllis Cunningham and Regina Curry

A study of the Empowerment Zone in which over one thousand poor residents mobilized to learn, create knowledge, and formulate a plan to reinvent government and alleviate poverty.

Introduction

Urban arena's have become theaters where major conflicts around class, race, ethnicity are performed. Haymes (1995) has argued that reclaiming cities through gentrification provides an urban battleground for disenfranchising African Americans and their cultural contributions and ownership of the city. Haymes' cultural critique suggests a "pedagogy of place" for Black urban struggle as one way for urban restructuring. On the other hand, Krumholz and Clavel, (1994) while recognizing class, race and ethnicity as factors, present a highly rational plan for "reinventing cities." Haymes' analysis is based on a Black collective cultural struggle for "place" while Krumholz and Clavel see the lead being taken by professional urban equity planners. The research objective was to look for empirical evidence that poor persons, many with limited formal education, could educate themselves to the task of reinventing the city. A secondary question was to document how the education of adults occurs within a social movement.

We chose to investigate the social movement that had occurred most recently in Chicago. Chicago was chosen because:
1. The civil rights movement chose Chicago for its first northern campaign under Martin Luther King; 2.It is a major U.S. metropolis in which a Black mayor was elected from a third party platform, The Harold Washington Party; and 3.) Chicago has over the last 40 years developed a rich tapestry of community based organizations. Thus the Empowerment Zone (EZ) precipitated a grass roots movement among primarily Blacks and Latinos in a kind of organic uprising of the poor along with progressive organizations located in the base. We begin by describing the development of the Chicago EZ, we then analyze interviews of the learning of 15 African Americans within social movements; finally, we draw some conclusions.

Methodology

We used a case study approach in our research. We had access to all documents and minutes of meetings leading up to the establishment of the EZ and direct access to CBO's participating in the EZ. We chose residents to interview who had been active in the EZ process.

Our questions included: How did these grassroots' people bond together to accomplish their goal? How could they put aside their own organization's needs to develop a collaborative representing all of their interests? How did they learn to find needed data sources, and examine and interpret census tract data? And how did they learn to manage the politicians, the speculators, the consultants? How could Blacks and Latinos learn political solidarity within this historical context?

Those interviewed had the following demographic characteristics: All were African Americans between 35 and 60 years of age (mean=43). One-third had not graduated from high school; one-third had some college; and the final third were divided into college graduates (3) or masters completed (2). Ten(66%) earned between $9,000 and $20,000; 3 earned between $20,000 and $35,000, and 2 earned about $40,000. Thirteen (87%) had stayed in the community and two came back into the community. All but one had children with 9 being a single head of household.

Empowerment Zone

The Clinton-Gore Empowerment Zone strategy was contained in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act that was passed into law in July 1993 with implementation slated for January, 1994. However, in December, 1993 a HUD African American speaker at the city wide attended annual banquet of the Chicago Workshop on Economic Development (CWED) gave Chicago community based organizations (CBO's) a jump start by 1) giving them the guidelines early and 2) challenging them as a community to develop a bottom up proposal for sustainable development of their communities.

CWED, a CBO of 45 community organizations, had developed out of the political activity of Chicago's social movements. In particular, the 1983 successful organizing of the Black and Latino community to elect Harold Washington, a stunning upset to the Chicago Democratic Party, meant that an increasingly sophisticated group of leaders and CBO's were active and in place.

Phase I. In the next 100 days with CWED in the lead, there was a mass mobilization of Blacks and Latinos around such initiatives as youth, education, economic development, health, human services, affordable housing and human capacity building. In the community we studied, over 30 meetings were held in this phase. And in communities all over the south and west side of the city, the same thing was occurring. Literally hundreds of meetings occurred in this first 100 days. They met in churches, block clubs, field houses, schools, community centers, businesses, and in the philanthropic community. The CWED director alone attended 150 meetings.

Phase II. By March 1994, the Communities moved into the collaborative stage. The EZ proposal required bottom up community partnerships so at this time from 4 to 30 communities came together in various collaboratives. Again, dozens of meetings were held with up to 200 at a meeting. Here, competing ideas developed in the various communities were debated and a reoccurring concern that Black and Latinos must find solidarity was discussed. At this time, Mayor Richard Daley appointed an ad hoc committee from the community, and business to select from the community's proposals those to be designated. Three clusters were developed out of the strongest of the 33 proposals presented by the collaboratives at a meeting attended by over 300 community members. Four days later, three other viable collaboratives, with less developed plans, were designated as Enterprising Communities (EC) and added to the EZ because of their poverty level and the political pressure exerted by those who had not made the final cut.

Phase III. This phase brought the three clusters and the three ECs together city-wide to form one Chicago proposal and six strategic plans, one for each entity. Six city wide meetings were held with from 200 to 600 in attendance to hammer out the final community proposal.

It was at this time that the CWED led groups discovered that the City had its own EZ plan already written naming the Urban Land Institute, the former Model Cities, and the city's endorsed CBO's as the recipients of the EZ money. When CWED asked for a copy of the plan they were refused but invited to come to City Hall and examine it there. Armed with a scanner and connected electronically to CWED, the pages were scanned out. As the pages emerged, communities were telephoned to see if required participation of all CBO's had been met. In the end CWED documented the non-involvement of the majority of CBO's and compelled the City Planners to negotiate their proposals. At this time a 30 member EZ/EC coordinating council, equally divided between city and community appointees, was charged with developing the final plan and spelling out its governance. The plan of the community to have an elected committee of 30 equally divided between the community and the city was subsequently turned down by the City Council with the defection of a majority of black alderpersons from the 12 wards involved. In the end, a 21 member board with two community members selected and appointed by the alder-persons was put in place. Chicago became one of six cities with an approved EZ/EC.

The Anatomy of Learning in Community

Interview data were collected by asking the persons to tell us about themselves and how they became committed to the community. Most interviews flowed without interruption except for an occasional clarifying question. Interviews averaged about two hours and were both audio and video taped. Audio tapes were transcribed; the data were then analyzed for themes.

Four themes emerged from the interview data: A defining movement, creating knowledge and self reliance, communities and culture, and learning from one another.

A defining moment. All of the interviewees described an event which committed them to actively struggle for social change and to collective struggle. LH (p3) described her transformation from a personal to a social goal.

> "It was like something wouldn't let me walk away. It would not let me rehab the building, rent it out, walk away. It was just something that wouldn't let me do that. It was and still is an emotional experience."

Or MB (p2) who, as a young mother, learned that fires were being set in her neighborhood by persons hired by slum landlords. The goal was to get insurance on buildings that had been allowed to deteriorate ...

> "I was a young mom who lived in this community who was doing my thing---. I lived two doors away from the last building went down with fire in our community and 13 babies got burned up. It started me to ask some questions about what's going on in the neighborhood. Why are we having these fires. Though I didn't know I was doing research then but I guess I was researching., Only to find out that people had a lot of

> knowledge about what they perceived be happening to the community and why. And that I was the one that was uneducated about what was going on. -- I mean you know, you know, young girl, walking around in the community raising my kids --- but really not living in the community. In the community but not in the community."

Or GB (p3) who experienced a cultural transformation when as an adult he was taken to the DuSable Museum.

> "It was set up in her house. There were spears all over. The first thing that came in my mind was Tarzan in Africa. But she began to make a presentation about the art works and the value of it and how the relation of it - to African culture, how it relates to us. The music, the math. And you know my mind just began to expand. I just wanted more . I just needed to know more about myself and about my race and about my people. You know all this stuff was new to me and it was hitting me too fast. It was hitting all of us too fast."

These defining moments were labeled as turning points in the persons' life.

Creating Knowledge and Self-reliance. It was poor people who began to see housing and transportation issues in a different way than city planners:

> "You're doing housing development, you're not doing organizing. I said "Takes organizing to do the kind of development that we're doing. -- we wasn't doing just pure bricks and mortar. People were learning to control their environment. How to look at things differently. How to turn negative forces into positive forces so that they can use that as a resource to turn their lives around." MB (p11).
>
> We went in and said,
>
> "Well we will help you, but we are not going to do this for you. 'Cause we ain't got the time to do it for you. And if you don't want to do that, then we outta here. You have got to take a front row seat on this. You've got to walk side by side with the technical people we bring here. You've got to learn how to talk and articulate with HUD. You got to learn the regulations and the rules. We have to do this as a collective or we're not doing it. -- What they failed to see was, what is now on the horizon as sexy and new, and that is the holistic approach. Not to physical land development as community development. But human capacity development --- building the capacity for servicing the human being." MB (p10).

This person summarized her work as a new model by saying:

> "Now, I can articulate this now, I didn't know what the hell we were doing then, I mean, you know. I can't tell you what we were doing. If you had asked me to say it like I'm saying it now, I would not be able to say it that way. Because we were doing work and we were creating, if you will, what was happening at that moment. We were teaching each other through our creation, what this model would produce." MB (p6)

One person became a border crosser when she as a black teamed up with a Mexican community in a creative act of self-reliance.

This type of creativity was reported by several interviewees.

> "We had an opportunity to employ a hundred people from our community at a place called Morrison-Knudson. I convinced Olive Harvey (a local community college) to do the training if we could find money. Mexican Community Committee had training dollars, so I agreed to give them some of our slots if they gave me their money so we could train everybody so they all could get the jobs." LH (p.6)

Community and Culture. Among those interviewed we found no "lone rangers." The emphasis was on community and African-American culture.

> What was the community articulation, as a collective, and people tried to always separate me from my community by saying, "oh, Mattie, you're different."
>
> "Oh no. I live right next door to Regina. How am I different. And Regina lives right next door to Irene, and right across the street from us is Mr. Chaney. Now how are we different? I don't get it. What separates me from my neighbors when we're talking about the same issues? What impacts the house next to me or across from me? What impacts their children? What impacts their seniors, their mothers? What impacts their wives and their daughters is the same thing that impacts me. So how am I different? I don't get it." MB (p12).

MB did not see herself as different and she had expectations of others as well.

> "We helped them buy the building. We helped them finance the building. We walked them through the whole redevelopment of the property and the minute the last redevelopment, the payout was paid out the lawyers turned it over and we walked away. That building, I think, was one of things that we shouldn't have done. We should not have walked away that soon. Because they got the property. They still have the property. They're still managing to live there. But they have not used he resources at their control to empower other people in their community. And that was one of our, that was one of the commitments that they made when they started this project. That they would help someone else to do what they had done. And they haven't done that. A little pissed off with `em about that."

Learning from each other. How did residents learn. Some used self directed study.

> "But we come home late at night and do research. Do our studying on the law. Every one of us had a chore to do. Every one of us mothers, after we put our kids to bed, had to go through these documents and read these legal documents so that when we got back to court --- we could stand toe to toe to them and tell them we knew what our rights were and how we, as not only community residents and people who lived in that building were collective in our movement to get something done." MB (p3).

E and T described Phase I.

> "We're doing, we're doing a lot of the work. I know as I sit in the different EZ meetings. there is a lot of work going on and these meetings start at about 6 and they more than likely will go to about ten, eleven o'clock at night. So people are really working hard to try to get the base ready to try to build you know jobs, businesses, schools, cause we have a day care program in the works in this. And it's all grass roots. All these people---" EC (p9).

These four themes appeared over and over in the interviews. The energy, activity and emotion brought about through collective problem solving, and the changes this activity made in the interviewees' lives gives us a small glimpse into the potential of learning at the edge of social movements.

Conclusions

The EZ was a mechanism to mobilize the community to learn for self-reliance. Bottom up leadership is possible when the conditions are right. The Chicago base community had been developing through social movements over the last three decades. These data support Haymes' view that poor people can reinvent cities by building solidarity among cultural groups and by reappropriating their place in the city. Poor people construct their learning by taking advantage of their own cultural tools. Sophisticated organic intellectuals committed to their class produced and disseminated their own knowledge gained from a critical examination of their experience.

In this Chicago experience, the hundreds of pages of strategic plan developed by over a thousand poor residents suffered a major set back by the limited vision of a handful of their own Black alderpersons. The lesson here is that reinventing government takes place both on the ground by mobilizing ordinary people as well as the demanding of accountability of elected officials in the political arena.

There are several implications for adult educators. First the deficit discourse used by educators to describe the poor denies us access to utilize community assets (Kretzmann and McKnight) as a basis for education. We would be more successful if we would either go out into the community, or bring the community into our classrooms. Second, institutional segmented adult education is not as robust for poor persons as problem centered non-formal approaches. Third, contexts and process appear to be as important for learning as content within a social movement.

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Creating Mosaics: The Interrelationships Between Knowledge and Context

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Abstract. *This qualitative study analyzed the interrelationships between knowledge gained in continuing education programs and the context in which professionals practice. Findings indicate that the process of constructing a knowledge base was affected by the structural, human resources, political and symbolic frames of the context of practice.*

How do professionals develop their practice? What are the relationships between knowledge presented in continuing education programs and the use of that knowledge at the work site? The value of continuing education programs and the application of the knowledge generated in these programs has been studied, questioned, and analyzed. Evaluation of continuing education has traditionally consisted of studying if participants apply new information upon returning to their work site. These studies report mixed and often contradictory results. Evaluation studies traditionally remove the learner from the context in order to isolate and study how continuing education is utilized. However, it is this very isolation that can lead to confusion in evaluation results.

The purpose of this presentation is to describe a research study that emanated from questions raised about the value of continuing education programs. The intent of this study was to describe and analyze the interrelationships between knowledge presented in continuing education programs and the context in which professionals work.

Theoretical Framework

The interrelationships of two major concepts, knowledge and context, were explored in this study. Knowledge, was viewed as the social construction of information that occurred through a process of meaningful learning and perspective transformation. The work of Ausubel (1978, 1986), Mezirow (1990, 1991), and Novak (1984) was reviewed and synthesized to describe this view further. These authors were selected because their work frames a constructivist view of knowledge that provides insight into how professionals develop knowledge in clinical practice. Constructivist's believe that individuals learn by linking new information together with past experiences.

Bolman and Deal's (1991) four organizational frames were selected as a framework for examining the context of professional practice. The four frames include the structural, human resources, political, and symbolic frame. Bolman and Deal (1991) developed these four frames to provide different lens with which to view organizations.

The structural frame draws on concepts from sociology and emphasizes formal roles, defined relationships, and structures that fit the organizational environment and technology. This frame includes organizational issues such as a division of labor, rules, policies, and procedures (Bolman & Deal, 1991).

The human resource frame originates from organizational social psychologists. Within this view, it is believed that organizations have individuals with needs and feelings that must be taken into account so that individuals can learn, grow and change. (Bolman & Deal, 1991).

The political frame is based on the discipline of political science and views conflict as part of organizational processes. Within this view, the organization is seen as groups competing for power and resources. The tools of this frame are bargaining, negotiation, coercion, and compromise. (Bolman & Deal, 1991).

The symbolic frame originates from the discipline of anthropology. It abandons rationality and sees organizations as tribes with cultures propelled by rituals, ceremonies, stories, heroes, and myths. Bolman and Deal (1991) believe that organizations with ambiguous goals, uncertain technologies, and varied stakeholder groups tend to develop the symbolic frame more fully as a way to deal with the ambiguity.

Research Questions

This study used an interpretivist framework to search out the relationships and meanings that knowledge and context have for each other. The following research questions were advanced to guide this inquiry:
1. What makes knowledge meaningful in the context of professional practice?
2. How is the creation of knowledge affected by the different frames (structural, political, human relations, symbolic) of the context in which professionals practice? and, 3. What are the interrelationships between knowledge, context and professional practice?

Methodology

Forty semi-structured, tape-recorded interviews were conducted with registered nurses from hospitals, nursing homes and home care agencies. The interviews were conducted 9-12 months following participation in a continuing education program. Nurses were asked questions about their learning, their work environment, and their clinical practice. Three data analysis strategies were employed in this study. First, following each interview a concept map was created to represent the major themes and concepts discussed in the interview. Second, a computerized category system was created for coding the transcribed interview data. Third, a system of matrices was developed to analyze what all participants in the study said about the specific research questions posed. Dependability and confirmability of study results were assessed using a qualitative data analysis audit (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Results

Making Knowledge Meaningful in the Context of Clinical Nursing Practice. Multiple factors identified in this study indicate how knowledge is made meaningful in the context of practice. A major finding of this research demonstrated that the information presented to nurses in continuing nursing education (CNE) programs is not transferred directly to clinical practice. Rather, nurses move through a process of thinking about the information, identifying their feelings about the information and acting on the information in a variety of ways. What makes the knowledge meaningful is the fact that nurses go through this complex process rather than simply adopting and applying the information.

Nurses construct their own knowledge base by linking and assimilating new knowledge with their past and previous knowledge and experiences. They link concepts together in ways that have particular meaning to them. For example, when asked how continuing education effects practice one nurse responded as follows, "*Well, I guess I don't think of it like that. I mean I can't really say what helps me deal with what. I think of it more like creating mosaics. I mean, you have all these little pieces that come from all over and in and of themselves they don't mean much, but when you put them together you have a beautiful picture. Continuing education and client care are more like that for me. I take little pieces of what I learn from many places and put them together until I have my own picture.*" The metaphor of a mosaic depicts the idea of assimilation and integration of concepts.

Nurses reported that before knowledge presented in CNE programs becomes meaningful they must think about it, determine how the knowledge is relevant to their practice, and analyze how it meets the needs of their clients. Additionally, the knowledge must include enough specifics that they can draw on and link with their current practice.

An example of how knowledge is relevant to practice and plays a part in constructing the knowledge base comes from a nurse who described how the needs of her client in an emergency situation fostered her recall of leaning from a CNE program. She described, "*We had a chest trauma where the person hit the steering wheel, where eventually he did end up with a cardiac tamponade. . . We watched for signs and symptoms of that. It was very obvious with some of the things they talked about [in the CNE program]. . . Like the heart sounds, the hypertension, the tachycardia. Another big one that I noticed was pulse pressure. These are things that are brought out and you say, "Oh, I remember. [The speaker] talked about that.*"

Participants also reported that their feelings about the information influence the construction of their knowledge base. Nurses reported that CNE programs reaffirm their knowledge, revitalize their professional development, increase their confidence and facilitate personal growth. The following quote depicts the feelings nurses have in constructing their knowledge base. "*I wouldn't say there was a lot of new information in the program, but the program only reaffirmed what I think about dying. It reaffirms for people that it's important to do the right thing even though no one agrees with me.*"

Finally, nurses reported that to construct a knowledge base they must take some action on the information. The action is necessary so that the new concepts are linked with previous or existing information. Nurses took this action through discussion and dialogue, by networking at the CNE program and by trying out new things presented and watching the results. Nurses reported that observable client results encouraged the use of new knowledge. For example, the following nurse described how her staff had tried a bladder retraining program learned in a CNE program with a resident in long term care. This nurse reported that the intervention worked. She went on to say, "*I think just with the proof the staff could actually see that there were some effective methods, certainly based on the individual resident, that worked.*

Now they're more willing and actually at times on new admissions implementing changes without a cue from any of the supervisory staff."

Impact of Context on the Formation and Use of Knowledge. The findings of this study indicated that the context in which nurses practice had a great impact on their use of knowledge from CNE programs.

Structural frame. Nurses identified that the structural frame of the organization was seen as a hurdle. It was identified as a hurdle in the sense that nurses were very aware of its existence, they knew the location, it may stand in the way of the identified goal, and yet, they knew precisely how to get around it. Nurses reported that the structural frame often provided a temporary block to their use of knowledge, but they could usually figure out how to manipulate the rules and not let this frame stand in the way of their client's needs. One nurse described how she attended a CNE program and learned a new type of bowel regime that was effective for gerontology clients. She explained how she took this information back to her agency. *"Well, right now we're [trying] a bowel regime. Not officially because we think the agency would come in and say, "Oh, well, we have to get this approved first." But basically we are doing PO [oral] meds and Metamucil, in consecutive days. So we're just doing it on three patients to try to change from doing suppositories and enemas all the time. After the CNE program where this was suggested we all got together and figured it out and wrote it down, formalized it and did it. We don't want to go public with it until we do the trial because probably the agency might think, Well, this has to be approved by this and that committee."*

Another nurse described how she attended a CNE program on death and dying. In that program she learned how it is important at the end of a client's life to be able to assist that person in meeting their goals. She discussed how she implemented that learning despite the structural frame of the context in which she practiced. *"Well, [the hospital] is still pretty conservative. I'd like to tell them to lighten up a little bit. This young man who died in February we had a Harley Davidson motorcycle brought to his bedroom on his birthday because he loved motorcycles. We're pretty lucky in that [the unit] is located on a separate section of the hospital. [The unit] is on the ground floor and we have a separate entrance so you can sneak things like that by . . . this was a kid that you couldn't help falling in love with. I mean genuinely, wonderful young man. . . . we decided that he needed to have this Harley, and we actually let him get on it, and the man who loaned it, was taking him through the halls on it. Just because he needed it. We have been known to sneak pets in too. Sometimes you have to push the rules aside to do what the patient wants because this is the end of their life."*

Human relations frame. Nurses reported that the human relations frame was mostly positive and facilitated their use of knowledge within the context of their practice. Nurses indicated that peers and mentors were encouraging and willing to try out new things that they brought back from CNE programs. Nurses identified that mentors in the form of preceptors and nurse managers had the most influence in how they worked with the new knowledge. The more encouraging, open, and flexible these individuals were the greater the use of knowledge. The following quote was typical of nurses' comments when discussing this organizational frame. *"I think they're [nurse managers] very supportive. Any information that we get from continuing ed.,* *they're more than willing to let you implement or try out. There are no barriers that way."*

Political frame. The political frame of the organization had a significant impact on how nurses used new information in clinical practice. Money, power, change, gender, and time with clients (as a function of resource allocation) all affected how nurses constructed and integrated their knowledge base in practice. When asked about the politics of their organizations and how the politics affected their use of knowledge, nurses would respond that they tried to stay out of those issues. By staying out of the politics nurses limited their use of new information in practice. The following nurses comments are typical of nurses beliefs in this area. *"I guess the political issues always get in the way. When you feel disempowered you tend not to use it."* Another nurse expressed the frustration with the political frame of the context of her organization. *"Ideally, I'd love to take this information and say we're going to implement this system. It's going to be rough going at first but everyone's going to do it and once we get it up and going it really will be better. My hands are tied because I don't have the power to do it. I know that we need and I know that it can be better than it currently is, but I don't have the power to do it and it's frustrating to me."*

Often the political frame served as a screen or a filter to new knowledge even entering the context of practice. Nurses made judgments about how well the information would "fit" in their practice arena. Rather than deal with conflicts that can be created by some of the knowledge nurses posses, they tend to screen it out of their knowledge base.

Symbolic frame. The symbolic frame of health care organizations seems to arise from the issues identified in the political frame. The issues of gender, power, change, money and time all act as artifacts of the organizational culture. Nurses recognized that the political issues are imbedded in the organization as part of the culture and thus, a general assumption exists that change will be difficult. In a very real sense the political issues define the organizational culture.

As a result nurses tend to avoid political issues and not deal with them in either the political or symbolic frame. Nurses are successful at going around the structural issues because they tackle them directly, but they tend to avoid the political issues. It is then these same political issues that significantly impeded the incorporation of new knowledge in the context of clinical practice.

Review of Findings

In reviewing these findings, it is evident that nurses who attended CNE programs used this new information to continually construct and reconstruct their knowledge base. The new information learned in CNE programs was added to a nurse's knowledge base through a complex process of thinking about the new information, acting on or trying out the new information and identifying their feelings about the information.

Finally, this complex process occurred in a particular context and the context shaped the developing knowledge base as well. The structural frame served as a temporary hurdle to the use of new knowledge. The human resources frame facilitated the use of new knowledge through positive interpersonal relationships. The political frame served as a screen to filter out new information. Finally, the assumptions imbedded in the symbolic frame contributed to nurses either feeling valued or devalued.

Study Implications

This study indicated that the role of continuing education is demonstrated to be much more than simply designing programs so that professionals can adopt the information in their clinical practice. The role of continuing education is facilitating a process of learning, reflection, growth and change. Continuing education programs were demonstrated to serve as a linkage in the process of creating mosaics for professional practice. The greatest impact of continuing education comes from facilitating the integration of multiple forms of knowledge. However, linking continuing education and personal growth is not always a comfortable position for educators. It is a much more complex view of the learning process and makes the continuing education provider accountable for a great deal more than presenting information. This implies that the educator then becomes a facilitator of the learning process rather than developer of specific program content.

This study also has implications for managers. It is essential for managers to understand and be able to deal with the political frame of the context in which they practice. Managers also need to be able to assist staff in dealing with the political frame and help discourage staff from filtering out new knowledge for practice based on organizational politics.

Finally, this study demonstrates the immense learning that clinical practice provides. Continuing educators need to establish learning programs where staff recognize the learning embedded in their clinical practice and begin to "tell their stories". It is through discussion, dialogue and reflection on clinical cases that professionals will continue to construct knowledge bases that inform and transform their professional practice.

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COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA'S GED GRADUATES' PROGRESS

Gary J. Dean

Abstract

A follow-up study of 3,099 GED graduates in Pennsylvania from 1974 through 1994 was conducted to identify changes in employment characteristics, living arrangements, and income, as well as preparation for the GED, further education, and outcomes of passing the GED. All findings indicated that GED graduates perceived obtaining the GED as extremely beneficial.

Purpose and Methodology

The purpose of this project was to identify the outcomes of obtaining a GED in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The study was funded by the Pennsylvania Department of Education (PDE), Project #098-6013.

The survey instrument was developed based on a review of the literature and was field tested by sending it to GED graduates in the Pittsburgh, PA, area. The resulting instrument consisted of 70 items on six pages. The sample for the study was obtained in the following manner: 1) a random sample of 300 GED graduates was selected for each year from 1982 through 1994, 2) a sample of 965 was randomly selected by hand for 1975 to 1981 (the time period prior to computerization of GED records), and 3) all of these records were cross-checked with the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation (PennDOT) current registrations of drivers licenses which resulted in a sample of 3,099 individuals. Two mailings were sent during the winter of 1996. There were 989 usable responses to these mailings. Based on the original sample of 3,099, this is a response rate of 31.91%. When the undeliverable surveys (n = 626) are removed, the resulting adjusted response rate for the study is 39.99%.

The potential for response bias was determined by a third mailing sent in May, 1996, to a random sample (n = 200) of the nonrespondents (n = 1484) with a response of n = 49 (24.5%). A shortened version of the survey was used to acquire demographic data from the nonrespondents. Analysis of the data was accomplished in two ways. First, ANOVAs were used to determine that there were no statistically significant differences between the respondents and nonrespondents for age when the GED was taken (respondent mean age = 29.23 and nonrespondent mean age = 27.22, F = 1.33, df = 1, p = .248) and for their current age (respondents = 37.51 and nonrespondents = 34.71, F = 2.39, df = 1, p = .122). There was a difference between respondents and nonrespondents for the number of years of school completed prior to taking the GED (respondents = 10.11 and nonrespondents = 10.51 years of school, F = 5.07, df = 1, p = .025). In the second analysis, Pearson chi-squares were computed to show that there were no differences between respondents and nonrespondents for gender (chi-square = 1.48, df = 1, p = .222), current employment status (chi-square = 4.41, df = 1, p = .353), and current income (chi-square = 10.60, df = 1, p = .101).

Findings

The following topics are addressed in this paper: demographics, employment characteristics, income and living arrangements, preparation for the GED, and further education and outcomes of the GED. Only selected findings are presented in this paper; the full report contains additional findings (Dean, Eisenreich, & Hubbell, 1996).

Demographics

There were a total of 456 men and 518 women, with 15 respondents not providing their gender identity. The mean age of respondents at the time of taking the GED was 29.32, and their current mean age was 37.71. The mean age for men at the time they took the GED was 27.49,and the mean age for women was 30.93 (the difference was statistically significant with F = 19.87, df = 1, and p = .000). There was also a statistically significant difference between the current ages of the men and women with the mean age of the women at 38.72 and the mean age of the men at 36.42 (F = 9.11, df = 1, p = .003). These differences indicate that the women were typically older than their male counterparts for both when they took the GED and their current age.

Employment Characteristics

Respondents were asked to indicate employment characteristics for both the time periods before they took the GED and the present. The findings indicate that more people are employed for pay now as compared to the time before they took the GED. Before the GED there were 38.7% (n = 371) not employed for pay) versus 18.2% (n = 173) now. Those employed for pay increased from 60.2% (n = 578) to 77.6% (n = 736). A Pearson chi-square was computed for the differences in the distributions of employment status. The resulting data showed that there was a statistically significant difference in employment status from before the time the GED was taken to the present. The Pearson chi-square statistic was 192.36, df = 4, p =.000. The trend in the data indicate that the number of people employed for pay increased significantly after the GED as opposed to before it.

The number of hours respondents were employed before they took the GED and now was also measured. Those employed for 30 hours or less constituted 33.2% (n = 229) of the sample before the GED and 16.7% (n = 126) now. Also, the number employed for 31 hours or more increased from 66.8% (n = 461) before the GED to 83.43% (n = 631) now. A Pearson chi-square was computed for the differences in the two distributions for hours employed. The resulting analysis shows that the number of respondents working 31 or more hours per week increased significantly from before taking the GED to now. The Pearson chi-square statistic was 24.34, with df = 1, and p = .000.

The respondents' perceptions of the skill level of their jobs was also measured. Again, the data indicate a positive trend with those considering their jobs to be low to moderately skilled at 88.4% (n = 617) before they took the GED and 51.2% (n = 395) now. Correspondingly, the percent of those considering their jobs to be highly or very highly skilled jumped from 11.6% (n = 81) before the GED to 48.8% (n = 376) now. When the responses of low skilled to very highly skilled are rated on a scale of 1 to 5, then mean scores for before the GED and now can be computed and compared. The mean response for before the GED was 2.32 versus a mean response of 3.47 for now. A dependent samples *t* test conducted between the two means resulted in a *t* statistic of -25.49, with df = 676, and p = .000. The statistically significant difference indicates that the respondents in this study considered their jobs to be more highly skilled now as compared to the time before they took the GED test.

Job satisfaction was measured by a scale consisting of A = Not at all satisfied, B = Somewhat satisfied, C = Moderately satisfied, D = Highly satisfied, and E = Very highly satisfied. The findings indicate that those with no to moderate job satisfaction (responses A + B + C) decreased from 88.1% (n = 602) before the GED to 50.1% (n = 382) now, while those with high job satisfaction (responses D + E) increased from 11.9% (n = 81) before the GED to 49.7% (n = 377) now. As in the case of skill level, job satisfaction can be ranked on a scale from 1 to 5. The mean response for before the GED was 2.26 versus a mean response of 3.44 for now. A dependent samples *t* test conducted between the two means resulted in a *t* statistic of -23.04, with df = 659, and p = .000. The statistically significant difference indicates that the respondents in this study are more highly satisfied with their jobs now than before they took the GED test.

In the item measuring benefits received from employment, respondents could check as many responses as applied to them. The changes in job benefits are as follows: those receiving no benefits decreased from 490 (49.9%) before the GED to 298 (30.3%) now; those receiving health insurance increased from 348 (35.4%) before the GED to 547 (55.6%) now; those receiving life insurance increased from 209 (21.3%) before the GED to 410 (41.7%) now; those receiving a pension or retirement increased from 183 (18.6%) to 394 (40.1%) now; and those receiving vacation benefits increased from 296 (30.1%) to 530 (53.9%) now. In all cases the difference between before the GED and now was statistically significant in the desired direction indicating that respondents received more benefits from work now than before taking the GED.

Income and Living Arrangements

Responses indicated that more people owned a home after they took the GED test than before; home ownership rate was 53.1% for now versus 34.7% before the GED. A Pearson chi-square for this item resulted in a chi-square statistic of 140.38, df = 1, and p = .000.

A total of 83.4% (n = 742) earned less than $20,000 before the GED versus 57.3% (n = 529) now. This is compared to 16.6% (n = 147) earning more than $20,000 before the GED versus 42.7% (n = 395) now. This same configuration of responses put into a 2 x 2 contingency table results in a chi-square statistic of 98.88, with df = 1, and p = .000, indicating that the differences in income for before the GED and now are statistically significant.

Preparation for the GED Test

Of the respondents, 57.6% indicated that they enrolled in ABE/GED classes as preparation for the GED test, 6.1% worked with an individual tutor, 41.0% took a practice GED test, 61.8% used curriculum materials designed for GED preparation, 29.1% studied with a friend or relative, and 22.1% talked with someone who had previously taken the GED test.

The helpfulness of different aspects of ABE/GED classes were ranked using a six-point scale from 1 = not helpful to 6 = very helpful (Table 1). The respondents considered the teachers as the most helpful aspect of the ABE/GED classes followed closely by the books and materials. In every case the women rated the items statistically significantly higher than the men, indicating that the women felt the ABE/GED classes were more helpful than the men did.

The average number of times respondents were enrolled in ABE/GED classes was 1.06 (with a standard deviation of .37). The overwhelming majority of respondents enrolled in ABE/GED classes only once. The average length of stay in ABE/GED classes was 10.93 weeks, SD = 11.22, and the range was from 0 to 98 weeks. Respondents also indicated the number of times they took the GED test: 91.7% (n = 888) took the test once, 6.6% (n = 64) took it twice, 1.4% (n = 13) took it three times, .1% (n = 1) took it 4 times, and .2% (n = 2) took it five times.

Further Education and Outcomes of Passing the GED Test

Respondents were asked to identify the impact on their lives of earning a GED. They rated items on a six point scale from 1 = not at all helpful to 6 = a great deal helpful. As is indicated in Table 2, the following outcomes were rated most highly: feel better about self, improve life in general, encourage children to finish school, get a better job, enroll in additional schooling, and increasing

Table 1: Helpfulness of ABE/GED Classes

How helpful were the following		n	Mean	F	df	p
A. The teachers	Men	184	4.99	4.74	1	.030
	Women	278	5.26			
	Total	462	5.19			
B. The books and materials	Men	184	4.78	11.05	1	.001
	Women	278	5.17			
	Total	462	5.06			
C. The things you were taught	Men	184	4.52	12.58	1	.000
	Women	278	4.97			
	Total	462	4.84			
D. The other students	Men	184	3.14	8.44	1	.004
	Women	278	3.61			
	Total	462	3.45			
E. The place where the classes were held	Men	184	4.09	13.53	1	.000
	Women	278	4.65			
	Total	462	4.47			
F. The times when classes were held	Men	193	4.69	10.34	1	.001
	Women	294	5.08			
	Total	487	4.91			
G. Overall helpfulness of the classes	Men	193	4.96	11.41	1	.001
	Women	294	5.32			
	Total	487	5.19			

income. The gender comparisons of these responses indicated that the difference between men and women was statistically significantly different for each response.

Respondents were asked to identify how many other people they have encouraged to attend ABE/GED classes. The range of responses is from 0 to 40 with a mean of 2.23 and standard deviation of 4.02. An ANOVA was run to determine if there were differences between the number of people encouraged to enroll in ABE/GED by men and women. Men encouraged an average of 1.90 people to attend ABE/GED classes while the women encouraged an average of 2.49 people to attend. This difference was statistically significant at F = 4.08, df = 1, p = .044. The number of people encouraged to take the GED by the respondents was also measured. The average number encouraged was 3.29 with a standard deviation of 5.69. While 188 people did not encourage anyone to take the test, a total of 419 respondents encouraged between one and three people to take the test.

A total of 599 people (60.56% of the total sample) participated in some form of further education after they took the GED. These respondents were enrolled in a total of 812 education and training programs. There were 225 respondents enrolled in technical, non-degree programs; 149 people enrolled in two-year associate degree programs; 50 respondents enrolled in four-year colleges and universities; and 252 respondents who participated in on-the-job training. In addition to the

Table 2: Impact of Earning the GED

Impact	Gender	n	Mean	F	df	p
A. Keep a job	Men	392	2.93	7.41	1	.007
	Women	414	3.30			
	Total	806	3.19			
B. Get a better job	Men	392	3.39	6.61	1	.010
	Women	414	3.75			
	Total	806	3.66			
C. Increase your income	Men	392	3.28	7.05	1	.008
	Women	414	3.66			
	Total	806	3.54			
D. Perform better in your job	Men	392	2.85	16.32	1	.000
	Women	414	3.39			
	Total	806	3.22			
E. Help your children with their school and work	Men	392	2.46	28.02	1	.000
	Women	414	3.17			
	Total	806	2.91			
F. Encourage your children to finish school	Men	381	3.46	21.45	1	.000
	Women	409	4.20			
	Total	790	3.93			
G. Enroll in additional schooling	Men	381	3.27	14.31	1	.000
	Women	409	3.85			
	Total	790	3.64			
H. Become more involved in your community	Men	381	2.21	27.62	1	.000
	Women	409	2.86			
	Total	790	2.62			
I. Feel better about yourself	Men	381	4.73	47.58	1	.000
	Women	409	5.45			
	Total	790	5.17			
J. Improve your life in general	Men	381	3.93	24.83	1	.000
	Women	409	4.57			
	Total	790	4.35			
K. Be more economically secure	Men	150	3.07	5.53	1	.019
	Women	157	3.62			
	Total	307	3.71			
L. Enter the military	Men	150	1.32	6.80	1	.010
	Women	157	1.07			
	Total	307	1.39			

options given in the item, 136 respondents indicated other types of further education and training in which they participated: EMT training, vocational-technical school, fire or police training, and truck driver training.

Discussion

This study compares favorably with other studies of GED graduates conducted in Pennsylvania, Iowa, Kentucky, and Canada. A study by Miller (1987) of GED graduates in Pennsylvania corroborates that self-esteem is a primary beneficiary of passing the GED. Miller found that 70% of the respondents indicated increases in self-esteem and 90% felt their families shared their sense of accomplishment. Also, Miller found that full-time employment increased from 31.7% to 48%. A study in Canada found that full-time and part-time employment increased 12.5% while unemployment decreased 45.8% for those who passed the GED (New Brunswick Department of Advanced Education and Training, 1990). In addition it was found that 36% enrolled in additional training. The Iowa study found that 13 measures of employment and economic security all increased for GED graduates (State of Iowa, Department of Education, 1992). Similar findings were also evident in the Kentucky study (Raisor, Gerber, Bucholtz, & McCreary, 1993).

This study of GED graduates in Pennsylvania demonstrates the perceived benefits of obtaining a GED. Respondents indicated improvements in all of the economic and noneconomic indicators measured. The findings provide additional strong evidence of the value of obtaining a GED.

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Orchestration of Learning Style Differences and Other Variables in an Action Learning Experience

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Abstract

Research centered on 31 students who participated in a two-week International Action Learning Seminar in Salford, England. International participants were assigned to action learning sets on the basis of several variables. Composition of sets (six to seven individuals) was purposely mixed to enhance diversity and promote learning.

Purpose of Research

Action learning experiences normally involve the bringing together of interested individuals in "sets" of five to six without any real consideration for group composition. Some action learning practitioners eschew pre-determination of set composition. The same can be said of team determination in businesses and public organizations. Group assignments can be relatively random and haphazard. This can lead to a reinforcement of likeness and stifle creative properties. When given a choice of group to join, or assigned to a group at random, the mix of member characteristics can be excessively skewed in a given direction. Those with a strongly reflective inclination can end up together, with few activists present (i.e., learning style preferences).

In international groups it can be a case of persons of like nationality ending up in the same group, losing the opportunity for multicultural expression and interplay. It can also be a case of placing people in groups where their expertise directly aligns itself with the problem to be solved (normal practice). In action learning, it can be more productive to place people in action learning sets that are targeting problems far removed from their education and experience. This can cause the individual to ask fresh questions and draw on the collective experience and ideas of his or her set through the synergy that accompanies deep dialogue. Reg Revans of England, the principal pioneer of action learning refers to this approach in terms of individuals being

> temporarily invited, not merely to leave their own familiar field of employment, their own interprise, but also to set aside their own familiar field of work, their own profession. . . (1983, p. 25)

This research set out to primarily mix the 31 American, Canadian and Australian participants in a two-week International Action Learning Seminar. A variety of variables were used. There was then an assessment of the perceptions of the learners, themselves, concerning the quality of the learning experience.

Theoretical Framework

When individuals with like background are brought together, they will tend to create subgroups that are comfortable to them (e.g., nationality, gender, ethnicity, back-ground and even similar learning styles/perceptions when they are evident). Friends and colleagues can naturally flow into subgroups. Such cliques can damper the creativity and block the ability to introduce new perspectives.

The scheduling of an International Action Learning Seminar in England in the Summer of 1996 offered the opportunity for research and experimentation. The 31 participants were highly diverse. The group included 23 Americans, four Canadians and four Australians. They were to be broken down into five action learning sets, each to be assigned a real world problem related to health services. Each set would, in turn, have a mentor to support the set and serve as a set facilitator (of learning) as the set members found it appropriate. The mentors were either English, American or Australian, all university professors. In addition, Reg Revans served as an overall doyen for the program.

Students ranged in age from 22 to 73 years of age. The median age was 44. Two months prior to gathering for the program, background information was obtained on each participant. They also completed the Honey-Mumford Learning Style Questionnaire. This self-graded instrument, containing 80 questions, determined the preferred learning style(s). Four styles are associated with the instrument: activist, reflector, theorist and pragmatist. The results show the relative weight the person assigns to each style in terms of very strong, strong, moderate, low and very low preferences. These results, together with student background information, became a prime basis for determining set assignments.

Action learning is dialogue driven. The set members typically have equal status, no leader is designated and the degree of facilitator intervention varies. For the purposes of this seminar, facilitation was held to a minimum. Almost the entire seminar program involved having sets work independently on client specific problems. All problems related to the South Manchester University Hospitals NHS Trust (comprising Withington and Wythenshawe Hospitals), one of the largest health service related trusts in England. Problems provided to the sets were real and extremely complex. One of the problems concerned reconciling the demand of increasing activity by three percent a year in line with national and purchaser thinking, while at the same time preparing to downsize the organization by 20 percent in three years' time. Each set had a different problem to work with, although all of the problems were related to the one Trust. At the conclusion of the two week seminar, each set had 20 minutes to concisely brief their findings and recommendations to senior managers of the Trust and the specific clients associated with each assigned problem.

From the outset, a concerted effort was made to creatively blend the human resources in a way that provided maximum diversity and strength to each set. Where possible, people were assigned to sets dealing with problems only remotely related to their background and experience.

The Setting Process

The 31 participants were assigned to sets using the following guidelines: balance the learning style preferences; mix gender and nationality; provide for age distribution; scatter individuals with prior action learning experience; distribute those persons with health services related experience; mix those individuals with prior overseas experience with those overseas for the first time; and, assign individuals to problems which they are unlikely to have had experience with previously.

A matrix was created to plot all these variables in relation to the five action learning sets to be created and their respective problems. Arriving at a mix that honored these guidelines proved complex. It was not possible, at times, to honor all guidelines. Sometimes it became necessary to move away from what seemed an ideal mix of learning style preferences in order to ensure that sets had multicultural representation. In the end, all Canadians and Australians were assigned to different sets and the eight male participants were distributed throughout various sets. Four individuals with some form of health service related background were assigned to different sets. All sets had a blend of learning style preferences. Two of the five sets had no one with a strong pragmatist leaning; however, in both instances, they were well endowed with individuals listed as moderate and therefore probably able to assume a pragmatist orientation as needed.

Related Literature

Much has been written on action learning, anchored by a book by Reginald W. Revans of England on the Origins and Growth of Action Learning (1982) In 1994, a Monograph was published by MCB University Press in England on Authors and Authorities in Action Learning. Interest in action learning has been growing in corporations and institutions of higher learning, where it is being incorporated into the curriculum design and learning processes. The researchers had at their disposal the entire archive of the Revans Centre for Action Learning and Research at the University of Salford, site of the International Action Learning experience. There are over 1,000 manuscripts in this collection, as well as books and journals.

Framework for Analysis

Participants kept learning journals and submitted reflective essays after program completion keyed to a Critical Incident methodology. For example, when did they find themselves most engaged, most disengaged, most affirmed, and most puzzled? What learning gaps did they identify in themselves and what was their personal learning strategy for closing them? In addition, each participant submitted a comprehensive essay analysis of the action learning process, group dynamics, conflict resolution and what worked or did not work.

This qualitative research approach begs a very important question. What contrasting results would have been realized had no effort been made to creatively blend the composition of the action learning sets? That is largely unanswerable, because as is true in most research of this type you cannot realistically use both an experimental group and control group. The mix of human beings will have unique properties in each instance. Cause and effect relationships become very difficult to prove.

What makes the approach used for this research significant is that the participants themselves are judging their experience against other group experiences in their lives. In effect, their collective life experience with groups leading up to the experience in England becomes a reference point for the purpose of comparative analysis.

Results

The data is still being sifted but some of the early findings are noteworthy.

1. Participants expressed the belief that they had "freedom to learn".

2. Diversity of set content was seen as a plus by participants even though there were cross-cultural disconnects from time-to-time. While Americans, Australians and those from Great Britain speak English and the Canadians were fluent in English, there were, in fact, significant cultural differences. While participants got along well cross-culturally, differences in speech patterns and cultural background could lead to miscommunications, awkwardness and occasional irritations.

3. There were many comments related to the speed with which the sets commenced to function effectively. Sets tended to self-norm quickly. It, of course, needs to be kept in mind that the maturity level and keen intellectual capabilities of the set members probably contributed to this result. However, the participants perceived the mix of people to be a contributor.

4. The amount of creativity in evidence was perceptually tied to the wide diversity in the sets. There were comments about the wide range of ideas that surfaced. Some felt that it represented a marked difference from their past experience, and even attributed it to set member diversity.

5. Diversity and individual personality traits in some instances contributed to divisiveness. Group process was not always smooth. Some of the ripple effects seemed to relate to uncomfortableness with lack of clear cut structure and agenda. Most found the free rangedness a positive.

6. There was almost a universal satisfaction with the learning experience, with several individuals stating that they were transformed by it. Readministration of the learning style preference instrument several months after the program ended showed decided shifts in preferred learning style in some instances. That could relate to adoption of new perspectives. However, most of the later preference results matched with the original preferences that were identified.

7. Facilitators to the action learning sets observed instances when set members would contribute in ways that seemed out of line with their learning style preferences. In one such instance, it involved a participant with an extremely low activism score volunteering to give a presentation. That individual told the facilitator later that it was "like an out of body" experience. She found it hard to believe that she had done that and suggested that the program experience had changed her in ways that she was not yet able to fully comprehend. She also indicated that her self-efficacy had been elevated and that she had become more participatory as a result of her views being recognized by set members and others as important.

A number of the summer program participants are maintaining contact by e-mail world-wide, suggesting that the program provided a bonding experience.

The clients were also impressed with both the quality of the recommendations provided by the sets and the vitality of the group dynamics.

Significance to the field

Research of this type is by its nature highly qualitative, but this research demonstrates the value that can be realized from such approaches. The research is also probably unique in an action learning context. There has been little, if any, research around the value of pre-determined set composition to action learning. Such research would seem to have clear applicability as well to the formation of self-directed work teams, task forces and other group related ventures.

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An Exploratory Study of the Social and Personal Dynamics that Deter Underserved Women from Participating in Adult Education Activities

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Abstract: This study explored the social and personal dynamics that deter underserved women from participating in formal adult education. From a grounded theory perspective, an inductive analysis revealed four integrated categories of deterrents that describe factors leading to nonparticipation (a) preadulthood factors; (b) patterns of nonsupport in adulthood; (c) conventional deterrents; and, (d) lack of "voice" in adulthood.

Introduction

The primary purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of the dynamics that influence underserved women's decision not to participate in educational activities. Building on previous research, limiting the population to underserved women, and employing the grounded theory approach to researching the topic, allowed us to discover relevant data categories and put them together in new ways. Four dominant categories emerged. Alone, each category provided insights about participation and nonparticipation, but by examining their interaction and relationships, new theory developed.

Previous Research

Several theoretical perspectives and studies framed this research. First are those that examined the relationship between processes occurring across the life span and participation in adult education (Cervero & Kirkpatrick, 1990; Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982). Other bodies of literature address deterrents to participation for adults in general, for underserved populations, and for women in particular. This literature includes several studies of deterrents to participation (a) in Adult Basic Education and literacy education (Beder, 1990; Hayes, 1988; Hayes & Darkenwald, 1988; Ziegahn, 1992); (b) of women in work-related educational activities (Blais, Duquette, & Painchaud, 1989); and, (c) in specific occupations or in the general adult population (Scanlan & Darkenwald, 1984; Darkenwald & Valentine, 1985). Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule's (1986) research on the cognitive development of women also has promise for helping us understand participation as it relates to women. Their five perspectives from which women view the world--silence, received knowledge, subjective knowledge, procedural knowledge, constructed knowledge--give hints of the cognitive and emotional deterrents women must overcome to participate.

Method

While informed by previous research and theory, a grounded theory approach was employed in which subjects were allowed to tell their "story" so that themes and relationships among them could emerge from the data. Interviews were conducted with thirteen nonparticipating women, who were from 18-36 years old, had not earned a high school diploma or equivalent, had dependent children, and lived in a rural Midwestern town.

The interview guide was loosely based on Hayes and Darkenwald's (1988) "Deterrents to Participation Scale--Low Literate." However, questions were not limited to those in the guide. New questions evolved through the interview process that allowed the women to express themselves while at the same time focusing their thoughts. Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. Five African-American and eight white women participated in this study. The women had an average of two children, seven were married, three lived with significant others, and three were single. Six of the women had full-time employment. The interview process stopped after 13 subjects because data categories reached saturation (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Data analysis procedures adhered to those recommended by Strauss and Corbin (1990). By asking questions, repeatedly validating the relationships and patterns against the data, and referring to prior research to verify and support the findings, several persistent themes surfaced allowing conclusions to evolve (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Trustworthiness of data was assured through keeping field notes and having one other person analyze the data.

Findings

Through extensive examination of the data using grounded theory procedures, four recurring themes emerged from the data: preadult factors, support during adulthood, conventional deterrents, and women's ways of knowing. Although these findings were not new in and of themselves, the product of their interaction either influenced or became deterrents to women's participation.

Preadult Factors

A shortcoming in the research to understanding participation in adult education is a lack of focus on factors from a person's preadult life and how these factors influence the likelihood of participating in their adult years. Darkenwald & Merriam's Psychosocial Interaction Model (1982) and Cervero & Kirkpatrick's work (1990) acknowledged the importance of preadult factors and their significance in explaining adult participation in educational activities. When examining these women's preadult years, several factors emerged as influencing their future educational decisions. First, schooling related issues such as the father's educational attainment, amount and quality of preparatory education, type of high school program in which the students were enrolled, and past educational experiences were associated with predicting participation as adults. Secondly, socioeconomic forces during preadulthood influenced participation. Thirdly, a pregnancy in the preadult years was a primary reason the women in this study dropped out of school. Lastly, during the women's preadult years, their level of family support for education encouraged or discouraged future learning activities.

Adult Support System

An influence that some women in this study experienced was not only a lack of support from their parents while growing up, but they also faced nonsupport in adult relationships and from their own children. Nonsupport in adulthood was manifested by lack of both verbal and actual support or by rhetorical support without actions to back up the rhetoric. This lack of support was often an insurmountable deterrent to participation for the women in this study. Only a few women were found to live in an interpersonal environment that actually encouraged and supported them. As will be noted later, support or lack thereof was found to be related to the factor of "voice."

Conventional Deterrents

Several conventional deterrents to participation were identified for the women in this study. Although reported individually below, looking at these deterrents in isolation was impossible (Beder, 1990; Hayes, 1988; Scanlan & Darkenwald 1984; Valentine & Darkenwald, 1990). Based on the findings of the current study, a woman's decision not to participate is due to the effects of multiple conventional deterrents within her life context. For example, some of the women were deterred by child care responsibilities. Of the 12 women who expressed interest in returning to ABE or vocational programs, six cited lack of child care as their number one reason for not attending. Time was a factor as well. Two meanings of time surfaced from the data: (a) lack of time, and (b) being out of time. In the latter case, several women, even in their 30s, had a deep-seated feeling that they had "run out of time" to pursue further education. Finally, four women explicitly named lack of information as a barrier to participation.

Women's Lack of "Voice"

At the heart of nonparticipation lies a "deterrent" so deeply embedded in some women that no theory can fully capture its meaning. The way a woman feels about herself, her self-esteem and self confidence, and the way she can express herself are significant elements in her decision about whether to participate in adult education. For the women in this study, the concept of lack of "voice" is a crucial recurring theme that comes closest to capturing the meaning that the women communicated (Freeman & Coll, 1991). Women's Ways of Knowing (Belenky et al., 1986) provides a means to examine the different perspectives from which women know and understand their world.

Silent Women: Belenky, et al. (1986) have identified five ways of women's knowing. Each category sits on a continuum with silence on the left end, with the woman being voiceless, to constructed knowledge on the right, where the woman values learning and has a well-developed voice. Silent women display "unquestionable submission to commands of authority," (Belenky et al., p. 28), have "chaotic and unpredictable" families (Belenky, et al., p. 159), grow up in isolation, and feel "deaf and dumb" (Belenky et al., p.24). Silent women feel they should "devote themselves to the care and empowerment of others while remaining 'selfless'" (Belenky, et al., p. 46). Seven out of the 13 women were classified as silent at least at some point in their lives.

Subjective Knowers: Five women in this study moved through received knowledge where they had little confidence in their ability to speak, toward being subjective knowers who were discovering their inner voice. Women's ability to understand and communicate knowledge is intricately linked to the relationships in which they are involved (Belenky, et al., 1986). At the point of subjective knowledge on the continuum, the women had discovered their inner voice. For those who started silent, their self-esteem is now healing and they are becoming more confident in themselves (Belenky, et al., 1986).

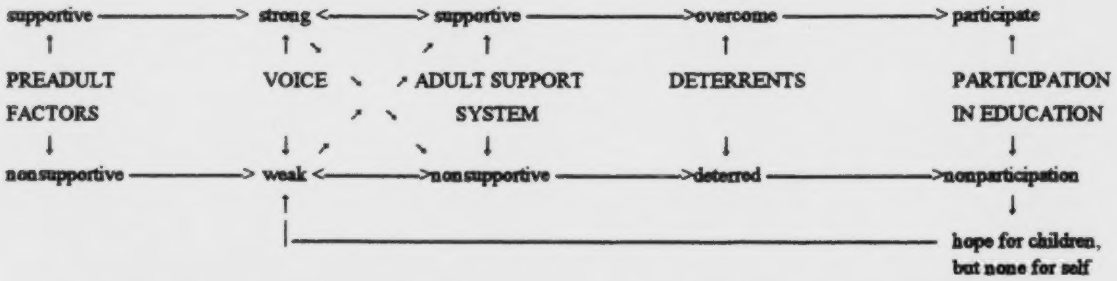
Satisfaction with Life: The degree of satisfaction a woman feels in her life was found to relate to the strength of her voice. Of the 13 women interviewed, most expressed a degree of dissatisfaction with their lives. Many of their hopes were put on hold because they lacked opportunity, motivation, or strength to pursue their goals.

Hope for a Better Life for Children: Beyond preadult factors and deterrents to participation is a desire so universal that it was heard in 100% of the interviews. The women in this study, regardless of ethnicity or age, hoped for their children's lives to be better than their own. Benseman (1989) identified a typology of nonparticipants, "Low-Interest, Schooling-Oriented Abstainers," that captured the behavior of 92% of the women in the current study. Although these women aspired for a better life for their children, many had lost hope for themselves. As will be demonstrated later, "hope for children, none for self" was found to be related to women's way of knowing. Consequently, those women who hoped for their children to succeed educationally, but had lost hope for themselves, were also those who had a weak voice.

Discussion

Although the themes detailed above are worthy of consideration, the relationships among them truly contribute to the literature on participation. Figure 1, which details a model of participation developed from this study's findings, illustrates the themes and their relationships. The difference between this model and previous participation models is that it observes the interconnectedness of four main components: preadult factors, adult support system, conventional deterrents, and women's "voice." Although only exploratory, this study is nonetheless the first study to explore this combination of factors related to participation.

Figure 1: Life Influence Model of Participation



Although this was a small sample of women, the problems and issues they faced were generally universal. Preadult factors, especially the amount of positive support received, contribute to women's development of voice or lack of voice. This research found that silence generates out of lack of support. Women who continue into adulthood with a nonsupportive system, often remain silent and therefore are not able to overcome the conventional deterrents faced by many women.

Because the specific combinations are unlimited, an example of their interaction is included. (See Figure 1.) In preadulthood, factors contribute to a supportive or nonsupportive environment for education. The resulting preadult environment influences the woman's development of voice and of her way of knowing. Furthermore, preadult patterns of nonsupport often lead to women dropping out of school.

Families continue to influence adult women by either encouraging them in their development of voice and of more independent ways of knowing or by not being supportive of their maturation. It is this influence that determines whether women will overcome the deterrents they face. Also, a combination of preadult factors, strength of voice, and amount of adult support influences the degree of satisfaction women have with their lives. In turn, this satisfaction affects women's development of increasingly verbal ways of knowing.

Women's ways of knowing not only affect their ability to overcome deterrents, but often leads those who continue without support and who have a weak voice to have hope for a better life for their children, but have no hope for themselves. The resulting loss of hope reduces their ability to overcome deterrents to participate. Each factor interacts with and influences the others to create a combination of deterrents so deeply embedded, that many women cannot overcome them to participate. Conversely, those women with support and stronger voices have a better chance of overcoming the deterrents they face.

The Life Influence Model of Participation is the first to incorporate this combination of factors: (a) preadult factors, (b) voice, (c) adult support system, and (d) deterrents into a model of participation. Both levels in the model include supportive and nonsupportive factors related to education. Although the components may occur in a linear progression, there is room for movement between the two levels depending on the individual situation.

To examine the relationships occurring within the Life Influence Model of Participation, it is necessary to understand the top line's flow. Supportive preadult factors influence the development of strong voice. If the woman has supportive adult relationships, her strong voice will be reinforced (thus the two-way arrow); therefore, she can overcome the deterrents she faces and participate in educational activities. However, a woman who grew up within a supportive environment and who developed a strong voice may encounter nonsupport in her adult life (down arrow). This factor may weaken her voice (two-way arrow), diminishing her chances of overcoming deterrents to participate in adult education.

The flow of the bottom line begins with nonsupportive preadult factors influencing the development of weak voice. In adulthood, if the woman continues in nonsupportive relationships, her weak voice will be reinforced (thus the arrows both ways); therefore she will be unable to overcome deterrents which leads to nonparticipation. This negative pattern encourages the women to have hope for their children, but none for themselves. They will remain weak-voiced and continue the pattern of nonparticipation. However, women who grow up in a nonsupportive environment and who develop a weak voice may, in adulthood, be involved in supportive relationships (up arrow) that allow her voice to mature (two-way arrow) and increase her likelihood of overcoming deterrents to participation.

Future Research

If this study opened a new way of thinking about nonparticipation, then we have made progress. The point that we cannot forget is that there is a bigger picture than what we have seen. These women expressed a desire to empower their children through education, yet did not have the strength to empower themselves. It is necessary to find ways to lead "disenfranchised" women into education so they can be successful and increase their self-esteem and confidence (Taylor & Marienau, 1995). Reentry into a learning environment heightens a woman's "awareness of her construction of self-as-knowers" and leads to a "greater awareness of her construction of self" (Taylor, 1995, p. 23).

Research supports the conclusions of this study, but more issues and the relationships among them need to be explored. Most importantly, investigations need to be conducted focusing specifically on women and the cause-effect relationships among the model's four components: preadult and adult factors, women's way of knowing, and deterrents. Each link in the chain not only entwines with the one preceding and following it, but relies on them for strength. Research on the dynamics of ethnicity and culture's effect on women's ability and desire to overcome deterrents to participation would further narrow the conclusions of this and previous research. In addition, the mother's influence in preadulthood should be explored. Another important area for investigation is a deeper analysis into the theme, "hope for children, but none for self."

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Researching Professional Practice:
The Integrated Practice Perspectives Model and Continuing Education

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Abstract: The "Integrated Practice Perspectives" model reframes previous efforts to link education with professional practice by using theories of situated cognition and learning. Reframing allows other variables in professional performance to be identified, performance to be more thoroughly linked to social and cultural contexts, and a more integrative and deeper conceptualization of professional practice and context to be developed.

Introduction

Researchers and practitioners alike have become increasingly concerned with exploring ways to strengthen the linkage between professionals' continuing education, and their practice. These efforts have been motivated by a number of factors, including: (a) new conceptions of professionals' ways of knowing (Cervero, 1988; Harris, 1993); (b) recognition of the socially constructed nature of professional knowledge and practice (LaDuca & Engel, 1994); and, (c) debate about the transfer of learning across contexts (Perkins & Salomon, 1989; Detterman & Sternberg, 1993). All these factors point to a need for more integrative approaches to researching and understanding professional practice and professional work contexts. Such an approach is needed to create and drive a cohesive research agenda that is applicable across the professions and that can address the current and evolving challenges facing them. Therefore, the purpose of this project has been to develop a model, the Integrated Practice Perspectives (IPP) model, for researching and understanding professional practice. This model, developed through review of literature and application with two professions, draws extensively upon previous efforts to connect educational programs with professional practice, and existing approaches of exploring the actual work and working roles of professionals. But it also recasts these earlier efforts into a broader framework that draws on theories of situated cognition and learning (a) to identify other relevant variables in professional performance; (b) to link more thoroughly professional practice and performance to social and cultural settings; and, (c) to provide for a more integrative and deeper conceptualization of professional practice and its setting.

The Integrated Practice Perspectives Model and Related Literature

Three major research and theory building strategies have typified efforts to link educational programs to professional practice. Each attempts to both describe the dimensions of professional work and tie these descriptions to definitions of professional competence and performance. The first approach entails the establishment of minimal levels of practitioner proficiencies and competencies (with knowledge and skills being major types) needed for credible professional practice (Nowlen, 1988; Willis & Dubin, 1990). The second focuses on determining the functional domains, responsibilities, and tasks of practice in a given profession (Queeney & Smutz, 1990; Willis & Dubin, 1990). The third approach requires study of the actual work behaviors and practices of practitioners within the practice setting in order to identify characteristics and circumstances of practitioners' work, as well as to develop a composite of working roles (Lanzilotti, Finestone, Sobel, & Marks, 1986; McGaghie, 1991, 1993). Related to each approach is debate about whether models of performance and competence should be unitary or multidimensional. While unitary models have been found to be more predictive of competence at later career stages, multidimensional models have three important advantages: (a) they recognize the increased differentiation of competence that comes from professional experience and different roles, and the need to conceptualize and research practice across these dimensions; (b) they permit targeting educational experiences to particular areas of learning needs that vary by role, experience, and setting; and, (c) they are useful in analyzing how specific work context factors support or limit competence across dimensions (Willis & Dubin, 1990; McGaghie, 1993). The one weakness inherent in all these approaches is that they assume that competence and performance are essentially individual affairs (Nowlen, 1988). Therefore, an adequate conceptualization of professional practice and context must also be grounded and reframed within the social and cultural settings in which professional knowledge, professional roles, and professional performance are socially constructed.

The IPP model incorporates the three major research and theory building strategies, along with the multidimensional aspect of performance, by suggesting that understanding the multidimensional nature of work and practice of professionals requires descriptions of *what practitioners actually are doing* (the recurring events or working roles in actual practice settings), not simply or only *what they are supposed to be accomplishing* (functional domains, responsibilities, tasks) or *how well they are supposed to be doing it* (proficiencies and competencies). The model also grounds and reframes the four approaches into social and cultural settings in several ways. First, it incorporates Brown and Duguid's (1991) distinction between canonical practice, or practice based on authoritative and normative expectations of the profession (i.e. proficiencies and functional domains) and the employing organization (e.g., job descriptions and organizational rules), and noncanonical practice, or practice characterized by roles and practices that have been socially constructed through interactions of participants in particular communities-of-practice (Brown & Duguid, 1991; LaDuca, 1980; Goffman, 1974).

Second, this grounding and reframing also draw upon Lave, Murtaugh, & de la Rocha's (1984) distinction between arena and setting, the former being objectified and normative descriptions of context and the latter being the practitioner's edited, subjective versions of the context. Elements of the setting, i.e. tools particular to the setting, and the individual practitioner's interaction with other individuals and the setting itself, as described by Lave et al. are also included in the model and become important variables in understanding professional setting and performance. Other variables, such as time--in activities, social interactions, reflection and judgment (Eraut, 1994) and socially constructed and negotiated roles (Goffman, 1974; Strauss, 1978)--are included to ensure that exploration of setting addresses variables of relevance to professional practice. The part that activity plays in performance is also considered, particularly as related to the purposes of activity, problem definition and shaping, and definition of professional roles (Lave et al., 1984; Goffman, 1974).

Third, because it is integrative, the model relies upon multiple "rules of evidence" about practitioner performance and context. The proficiency/competency and functional domains approaches rely most heavily upon perceptual, normative, and quantitative data to describe and prescribe professional performance. However, by incorporating research on actual professional practice, as framed by the anthropological and sociological underpinnings of situated learning and cognition, the model permits, even encourages, qualitative approaches, e.g., observation, story-telling, to inquire into practice. These qualitative approaches permit the actual work of practitioners to be described and analyzed. But they also allow focus on practitioners' tacit knowledge, the actual roles practitioners play as these have been socially constructed within practice, and the meaning that they ascribe to work, roles, and setting. Further, qualitative approaches enable us to focus on the underlying processes through which learning and knowing occur and the interrelated ways that practitioner roles and settings are socially constructed. For example, Strauss' (1978) description of the renegotiation of roles among health care professionals within a mental hospital to arrive at an inter-professional social order different from the traditional physician-led, hierarchical one, is an illustration of how the social construction of actual professional roles and the recursive impact of negotiations on knowing can be addressed. Orr's (1990, in Brown & Duguid, 1991) concept of "work arounds" captures the dynamics of actual practice in which individuals, in a community-of-practice and in recursive relationship with their setting and tools, solve problems of practice in ways that are not congruent with company rules and norms, highlighting the dynamic tension that exists between the canonical and noncanonical aspects of practice. Lave and Wenger's (1990) work on apprenticeship provides another example, especially of the way novices are initiated into the work of experts.

Figures 1 and 2 illustrate different aspects of the IPP model. Figure 1 highlights the interrelationship of the approaches to studying professional practice along multiple dimensions. The approaches are represented by the axes, upon which the multiple dimensions of practice are represented by "tick" marks. An intersection of the approaches is illustrated by the cell. Figure 2, in contrast, focuses our attention on factors influencing the setting of professional practice within which performance is grounded. The working role approach is focused on the center of Figure 2, where individuals-in-*settings* and in *communities-of-practice* perform, based upon their recursive relationships with settings and their interpretations of influencing contexts (including their *personal contexts*). Within the *organizational context* are job descriptions and rules, types of canonical descriptions of practice. The *professional context* also includes descriptions of practice, but in this case developed through proficiency and functional domain approaches to studying practice. These descriptions are also particular types of canonical practice descriptions. Although not shown, both figures assume that the model and the phenomena it addresses exist and function within the broader social context.

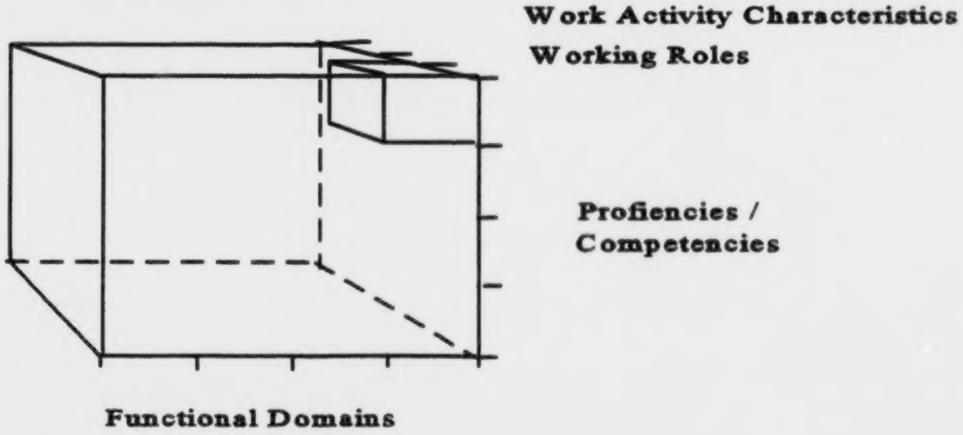

Figure 1. Integrated Practice Perspectives Model (IPP)

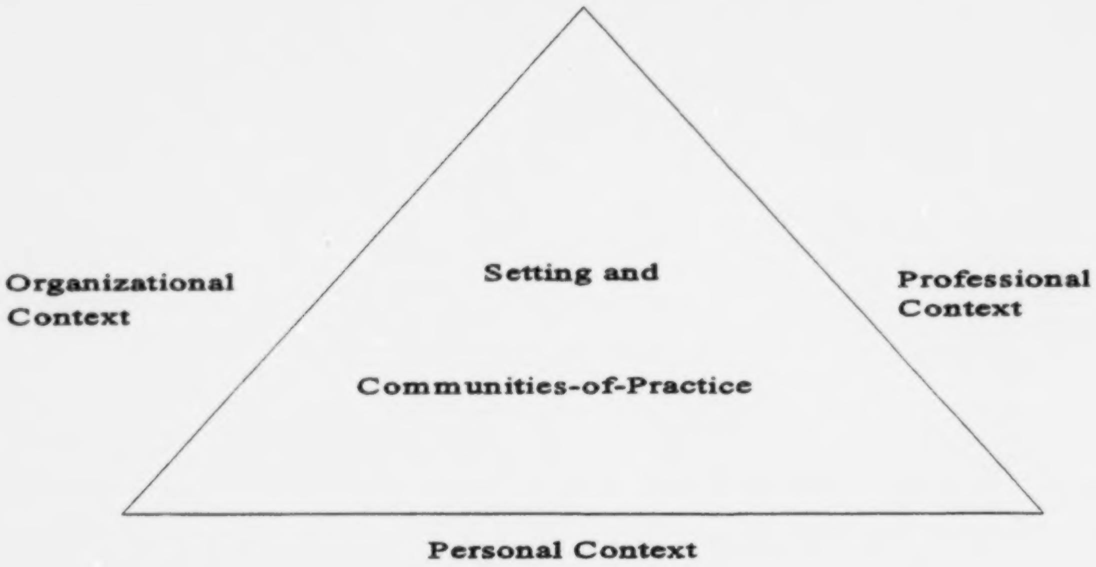

Figure 2. Factors Influencing Professional Practice Setting

In summary, the Integrated Practice Perspectives (IPP) model draws upon existing strategies for researching and understanding professional competence, performance, and practice, but recasts these within the theoretical constructs of situated cognition and learning. As such, the model grounds understanding of professional competence and performance within settings of practice, taking into account both canonical and noncanonical aspects of that setting. By integrating approaches, the model also focuses upon the individual-in-setting, rather than focusing either on individual or context alone (Cobb, 1994). It also addresses issues of knowledge creation and use within the professions by providing a means through which the relation between formal, theoretical knowledge and knowledge learned in experience can be explored.

Applications of the IPP Model

The IPP model has been employed in two research studies with two different professions, evangelical Protestant clergy and university continuing educators (Donaldson, 1993; Donaldson & Kuhne, 1994; Kuhne & Donaldson, 1995). These two professions were selected for study because previous proficiency and functional domain studies had been conducted for them. Therefore, results from projects conducted by the investigators could be compared with results on competencies and functional domains as reported in extant literature. Practitioners in the two professions were studied through a combination of structured observation, in-depth interviews with subjects and members of their role sets, the critical incident technique, document analysis, and "think-aloud" protocols. Results of the studies (the actual work setting characteristics and working roles of practitioners) were compared with each profession's reported lists of (a) proficiencies and (b) functional roles and domains to identify linkages and gaps in the description of professional practice and work setting. Each component of the model was found to be important because it added distinctive insights into professional practice that are essential to a well-rounded understanding of professional work. For example, the working role approach found that functional domain and proficiency approaches to the study of the clergy had underemphasized the multidimensional nature of their administrative work, and thereby added important elements to our understanding of their practice, work setting, and knowledge.

Results demonstrated that while each approach has its own relative strengths and weaknesses, their integration through the model provides for compensatory and complementary insights that generate more complete descriptions of practice. For example, the functional domains approach provides insights into the broader functions of a profession that aid in making conclusions about the relative value of the work activities identified in working role studies. In contrast, a weakness of the functional domain approach is that it is based upon practitioner perceptions or expert opinion, and is not grounded in the observation of practice realities. The proficiency approach provides important insight into the broad areas of knowledge and skills and affords a basis for the assessment of readiness to practice and for determination of minimal performance levels for effectiveness. In a sense, such information is a measure of potentiality, a recognition of whether the "tool box" is full. However, proficiencies do not reveal how well such "tools" will be used in practice or whether the broader purposes of the "tools" will be realized in practice. The proficiency approach, because it is not rooted in studies of practice realities, also tends to overlook the reflective elements of professional knowledge that are found by studying practitioner work setting. The weakness of the working role approach is the reverse of the weakness of the domain studies. By focusing on individual work setting and behaviors, the broader functions of such behaviors can be easily obscured. In isolation, the approach can also overlook the canonical norms and expectations established by the worker's profession and organization, thereby precluding examination of the influence these norms and expectations have upon socially constructed knowledge and performance. Also, by examining specific work activities, the determination of the knowledge, attitudes, and skills that have led to the ability to carry out such activities are ignored, unless "think aloud" protocols are also employed.

Conclusion

Application of the IPP model has provided an affirmation of the unique and important contributions of each of its components, especially if reframed and integrated within theories and concepts of situated cognition and learning. The model provides a basis for generating rich and high fidelity descriptions of practitioner performance and practice settings, the results of which can be employed in assessment of learning needs, curricular design, and competence evaluation. The model also provides a basis for a research agenda that has much potential for creating stronger linkages between education and practice across the professions. For example, questions about malleability of cognitive schemata from education to practice; the processes by which noncanonical professional roles are constructed; and, the applicability of the model's components at different stages in practitioners' cognitive development (i.e. novice/expert distinctions) all derive from the model's components and their relationships.

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CRITICAL THINKING, DEVELOPMENTAL LEARNING, AND ADAPTIVE FLEXIBILITY IN ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERS

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ABSTRACT

Organizational leaders in today's global marketplace must continually make decisions, solve problems, and chart effective courses of action to ensure that their companies survive and flourish. The ability to think critically is essential for today's leaders, yet leaders are often unable to do so. This study examined how developmental learning and adaptive flexibility relate to the level of critical thinking in a sample of organizational leaders. Results showed years of education to be the only significant predictor of critical thinking in the leaders studied. Adaptive flexibility scores indicate minimal levels of reflective observation suggesting automatization of decision-making. The factor analysis of developmental learning experiences identified several factors that characterize the developmental learning of the leaders studied. The theoretical and practical significance of the findings is discussed.

INTRODUCTION

CRITICAL THINKING

Critical thinking is reasonable, reflective thinking that is focused on what to think or do. It requires an ability to recognize problems, gather pertinent information, interpret data, appraise evidence, and to evaluate lines of thinking, points of view, and personal insights that might contribute to the framing of logical, effective, reality-based action (Pierce, 1990). Research on critical thinking describes how individuals think about and solve complex problems. Critical thinking cuts to the heart of effective managerial work. A leader with critical thinking abilities will make better decisions and effect action of enlarged scope and heightened quality (Neumann, 1989).

WORKPLACE DEVELOPMENTAL LEARNING EVENTS

John Dewey's (1916) early work on cognitive development suggests that challenging and/or disorienting experiences stimulate the development of thinking ability. In numerous studies of successful leaders researchers at the Center for Creative Leadership (CCL) in Greensboro, NC, have determined that developmental learning occurs primarily through work experiences, not in formal training programs, and that successful corporations emphasize job challenge for developing managers (McCall et al., 1988; McCauley, Ruderman, Ohlott, & Morrow, 1994). In fact, the "developmental potential of a work experience is driven by the challenges it presents" (McCall et al., 1988, p. 8). Successful leaders' careers are marked by a variety of specific challenging work assignments and disorienting experiences, like starting an operation from scratch, making a huge leap in scope of responsibility, or turning around a business in deep trouble. This study hypothesized that challenging workplace learning events would stimulate the development of critical thinking skills.

ADAPTIVE FLEXIBILITY

The "high-tech" arena of the global marketplace requires that organizations be able to respond flexibly to rapid changes in conditions and circumstances. For this reason, contemporary organizations need leaders who can adapt to and learn from the challenges encountered when confronting change. In his theory of integrative development, Kolb (1984) states that the ability to respond flexibly to change has a strong influence on a person's adaptation and growth over the life span. This trait is called "adaptive flexibility." People with high degrees of adaptive flexibility are readily able to adapt their style of learning to the demands of the learning situation. An adaptively flexible leader can more successfully manage in the global marketplace than a leader who is not adaptively flexible (Payne, Bettman, & Johnson, 1993).

Based upon research conducted to date, variables associated with the development of critical thinking ability in leaders are intelligence, age, years of education, and years of experience, as depicted in the unshaded portions of the "Individual Characteristics" component of the diagram in Figure 1. This research study proposes the addition of an additional individual characteristic, adaptive flexibility (Kolb, 1984).

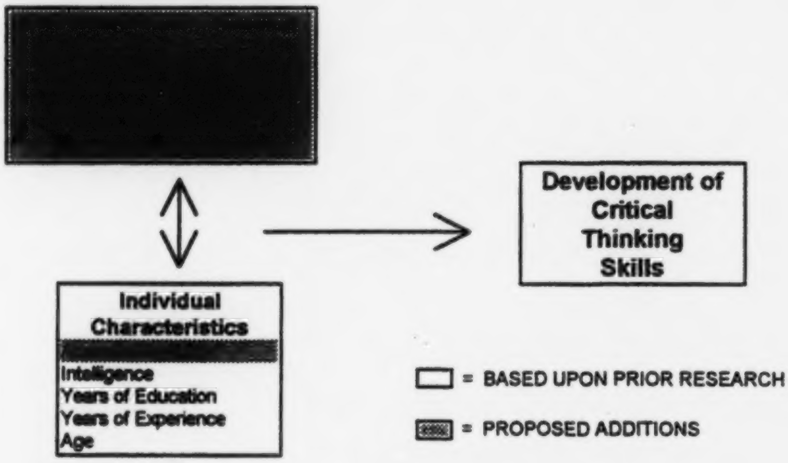
Development of Critical Thinking Skills
Individual Characteristics
Intelligence
Years of Education
Years of Experience
Age
= BASED UPON PRIOR RESEARCH
= PROPOSED ADDITIONS

Figure 1. Framework of factors associated with critical thinking skills development.

HYPOTHESES

H01. There will be no significant combination of independent variables: number of workplace developmental learning events, average perceived significance of workplace developmental learning events, and individual characteristics (adaptive flexibility, years of experience as a leader, years of education beyond high school, and age), that predict the level of critical thinking.

H02. There will be no combination of factors that describe the workplace developmental learning events of the leaders studied.

H03. There will be no combination of workplace developmental learning factors that predict the average perceived significance of learning of the leaders studied.

METHODOLOGY

Three instruments were used to measure the study's variables. Critical thinking was measured by the Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal (WGCTA) which consists of 80 items divided into five scales: inference, recognition of assumptions, deduction, interpretation, and

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evaluation of arguments (Watson & Glaser, 1980). Workplace developmental learning events were measured by an adaptation of "Section V: Your Background" of the Job Challenge Profile (McCauley, 1991) called the Experiences Checklist which measured the level of significance on a five point Likert scale of up to 43 workplace learning experiences. Adaptive Flexibility was measured using Kolb's (1980) Adaptive Style Inventory, a 48 item, forced-choice, self-report instrument consisting of four scales: concrete experience adaptive flexibility (CEAF), reflective observation adaptive flexibility (ROAF), abstract conceptualization adaptive flexibility (ACAF), and active experimentation adaptive flexibility (AEAF). A one page sheet that appeared as the cover to the Experiences Checklist assessed demographic variables. Instrument packets were distributed to 341 leaders who had attended CCL's five day Leadership Development Program during 1993; 119 leaders (35%) chose to participate in the study.

RESULTS

The research sample of 119 people consisted of 88 males (74%) and 31 females (26%). The mean age of study participants was 42.9 years (SD=7.2); average number of years of education beyond high school was 5.5 years (SD=1.9); mean number of years of direct supervisory experience was 12.3 years (SD=7.1). With respect to organizational level, 25 (21%) were executive-level managers and 93 (78%) were mid-level managers. The mean critical thinking score of 67 out of 80 (SD=7.3) placed this sample at the 85th percentile compared to a national sample of sales representatives. The average participant had experienced 22 of the 43 workplace developmental learning events assessed and considered the learning from these events highly significant. The average subject was moderately adaptively flexible, yet during learning or problem solving tended to engage in less than average reflective observation.

H01. Hierarchical multiple regression was used to determine the independent variables that predict critical thinking skills in the leaders studied. The analysis showed that the only significant predictor of critical thinking score was years of education beyond high school (r=.31, p<.001). The regression analysis indicated that years of education accounted for 10% of the variance in critical thinking score (p<.001), a small effect size.. H01 was rejected.

H02. A factor analysis procedure with oblique rotation was used to determine the combination of factors that describe the workplace developmental learning events reported by the leaders studied. The factor analysis identified six factors that describe the reported workplace developmental learning events of the leaders studied: 1) Career Crisis, 2) High Stakes, 3) Management Development Opportunities, 4) Reduction Decisions, 5) Mentor or Role Model, and 6) Discrimination. H02 was rejected.

H03. The correlation matrix of the six factor scale scores and average perceived significance of learning showed significant correlations between High Stakes and average perceived significance (r=.27, p<.01) and between Management Development Opportunities and average perceived significance (r=.56, p<.001). A stepwise multiple regression revealed that Management Development Opportunities accounted for 31% of the variance in average perceived significance rating, a large effect size. H03 was rejected.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study support the results of previous studies of learning in leaders that concluded that the most important lessons are learned from on-the-job experiences (Baldwin & Padgett, 1993). The results of this study indicate that formal education was the only variable significantly related to critical thinking. This result supports previous research studies that found critical thinking correlated with education (Pearson, 1991). Both challenging workplace experiences and adaptive flexibility were not related to critical thinking.

The factor analysis identified six factors that describe the reported workplace developmental learning events of the leaders studied: 1) Career Crisis, 2) High Stakes, 3) Management Development Opportunities, 4) Reduction Decisions, 5) Mentor or Role Model, and 6) Discrimination. Factors 1, 2, 4, and 5 resemble factors identified in several CCL studies (Eichinger & Lombardo, 1990; McCall et al., 1988; McCauley et al., 1994). Management Development Opportunities and Discrimination are new results.

With the lowered levels of reflection (i.e., low ROAF scores) responses to situations and dilemmas at hand may have been "automatic," reinforcing previous learning when the potential for new learning and development existed.

The Watson-Glaser concept of critical thinking is narrowly focused and restricted. Results of this study show that WGCTA critical thinking is logic-based, single-loop (Schon 1987), instrumental and weak sense (Paul, 1984) critical thinking. Schon (1987) describes critical thinking as a process whereby the individual reflects on actions and thought processes, calling into question underlying assumptions. A closer analysis of the items on the WGCTA show that correct answers can be determined by the rules of logic. No reflectivity is needed.

Reflective judgment is a structurally based cognitive ability based upon levels of cognitive schema (King & Kitchener, 1994). Reflective judgment ability is necessary for solving ill-structured problems, e.g., the kind of real-life problems encountered in the workplace, particularly by challenging or disorienting experiences (King & Kitchener, 1994). Measuring reflective judgment rather than critical thinking may have been more appropriate to the purposes of this study.

Piaget (1972) uses the term schema or schemata to describe the framework onto which incoming sensory data can and must fit. Schema are mental maps that enable individuals to orient themselves within their experiential terrain. As an individual has new experiences the schematic framework constantly changes through activation of the assimilative/accommodative process. In this study there was no way of testing or measuring whether the 43 workplace learning events measured on the Experiences Checklist were truly developmental. To what degree the Experiences Checklist actually measured developmental learning is uncertain.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study provided only partial support to the model for developing critical thinking in organizational leaders proposed in Figure 1. Results of this study suggest that the development of critical thinking is a more complex process than that illustrated in Figure 1.

Based upon the results of this study and upon a follow-up review of the literature relative the study's outcomes, a revised model was developed that more accurately depicts the developmental learning process of leaders through workplace learning experiences. The framework encompasses the development of both critical thinking and reflective judgment.

Figure 2 illustrates the revised model for critical thinking and reflective judgment development in organizational leaders. The model consists of two paths or tracks: 1) a confirmatory relearning path corroborating an existing model of meaning, and 2) a developmental learning path resulting in a revised model of meaning.

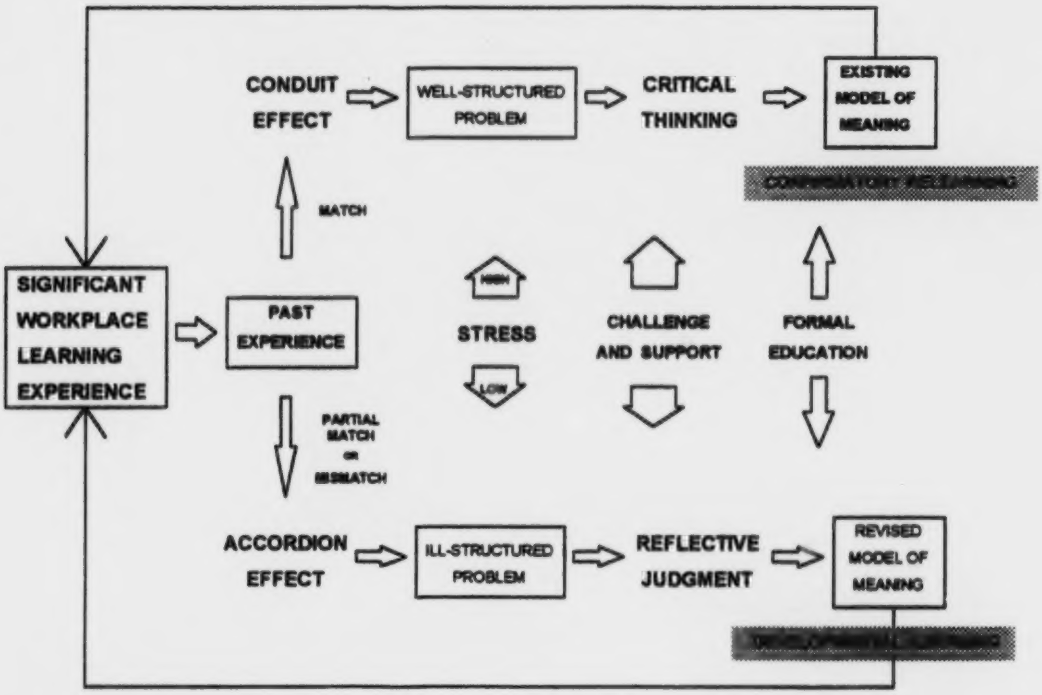
CONDUIT EFFECT
WELL-STRUCTURED PROBLEM
CRITICAL THINKING
EXISTING MODEL OF MEANING
CONFIRMATORY RELEARNING
MATCH
SIGNIFICANT WORKPLACE LEARNING EXPERIENCE
PAST EXPERIENCE
HIGH
STRESS
LOW
CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT
FORMAL EDUCATION
PARTIAL MATCH or MISMATCH
ACCORDION EFFECT
ILL-STRUCTURED PROBLEM
REFLECTIVE JUDGMENT
REVISED MODEL OF MEANING
DEVELOPMENTAL LEARNING

Figure 2. Revised model for critical thinking and reflective judgment development in organizational leaders.

CONFIRMATORY RELEARNING

The confirmatory relearning process is triggered when the leader perceives a match between the current situation and past experience. The individual responds automatically and no "new learning" takes place. This is called the conduit effect (Sheckley & Keeton, in press). The experience is constructed as a well-structured problem. Well-structured problems can be solved using critical thinking skills (King & Kitchener, 1994) and under stressful conditions (Fiedler & Link, 1994). The confirmatory relearning process results in corroborating the existing model of meaning.

DEVELOPMENTAL LEARNING

The developmental learning process is activated when the individual perceives either a partial match or a mismatch between the current situation and past experience. The hierarchical structure of the individual's "world view" or "model of meaning" is abandoned or altered in some way. The reflective system is activated and new learning takes place. This is called the accordion effect (Sheckley & Keeton, in press). If the current problem or circumstance is viewed as novel, the leader will construct the experience as an ill-structured problem with its attendant ambiguity and uncertainty. Ill-structured problems are best solved using reflective judgment (King & Kitchener, 1994) and under conditions of low stress (Fiedler & Link, 1994). The developmental learning process results in the creation of a revised model of meaning.

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Voices of the Participants: The Selling of Popular Culture at Wounded Knee

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Abstract

Popular culture narratives surrounding the Occupation of Wounded Knee have worked to neutralize the significance of the acts of resistance by participants, particularly women.

Introduction

In the early Winter of 1973, traditional leaders of the Oglala Lakota people asked members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) to help them in their efforts to regain control of tribal government. Four attempts to impeach and unseat Tribal Chairman Dickie Wilson had failed. For ten months he and his "goon" squad, (Guardians of the Oglala Nation) terrorized the people by beating, burning, killing, and jailing anyone who spoke out against his reign. AIM members and traditional Oglala people, in an effort to have their grievances heard, intended to march on the BIA headquarters at Pine Ridge. Dickie Wilson, anticipating such an attempt, turned the town into an armed fortress. US Marshals stood on every rooftop, their assault weapons flashing in the cold sunlight. Realizing they had walked into a deathtrap, resisters decided to occupy Wounded Knee, the sacred place, where in 1890, Custer's old regiment, the Seventh Calvary, had gunned down and murdered nearly 300 of Big Foot's band while on a mission to search out and kill the Ghost Dancers. On this day in March, 1973, AIM and the Oglala people claimed this sacred place declaring it the Independent Oglala Nation. Their actions provoked the federal government to surround Wounded Knee with tanks, helicopters, flare guns, automatic weapons, the same kind of military equipment being used in Vietnam, for seventy-one days of non-stop gunfire.

Events at Wounded Knee have generated little attention in comparison to such events as the Cherokee Removal. In 1974, a small publishing house owned by the Iroquois Nation published the notes and interviews by a collective of underground journalists who managed to get into the Knee through the back hills of Dakota. It is the only existing primary source that tells the stories of the participants inside the Knee during those seventy-one days. Mary Crow Dog told her story to a New York artist, Richard Erdoes, while her husband Leonard was in jail. The story was not published for eleven years. Following its publication in 1991, Jane Fonda made a movie based on the book, *Lakota Woman*. Lakota people express mixed feelings about Mary's story. During Leonard Crow Dog's time in jail a documentary film about his life as medicine man and the revival of Lakota spiritual life was made in an effort to effect his release from prison. He too told his story to Richard Erdoes . *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* became a bestseller in 1992. Matthiessen brings to light stories long kept from the public such as the brutal murder of Mary Crow Dog's best friend Annie Aquash. Rolland Dewing based his story primarily on the 8000 pages of FBI documentation, addressing the meaning and significance of the "second incident". One other book, written by those who participated in airlifting supplies into Wounded Knee appeared as a true story in the late seventies. Three doctoral dissertations have been written about the history of AIM, the trials of the participants, and issues surrounding the spiritual leadership at the Knee. Most recently, 1992, the movie *Thunderheart* provides us with a fictionalized account of the FBI's attack on AIM leaders. Although it is loosely based on the stories of one FBI agent, it suggests for the first time, that the government may have provoked many of the events that took place between 1973 and 1976.

Research Questions and Methodology

Wounded Knee entered popular culture through such movies as *Lakota Woman, Thunderheart, Crow Dog, Incident at Oglala,* a plethora of books, some by participants, some by non-participants, all, for sale to the public, all competing for the power to define events and assign historical meaning to the Occupation of Wounded Knee and to the American Indian Movement. This presentation and paper explore the popular culture surrounding the events at Wounded Knee as a means of understanding both popular culture and Indian resistance and its portrayal therein.

Our analysis of the production of Wounded Knee is largely thematic, framed by our personal, social, and political observations and positioning, and by our knowledge of Indian culture and the ways in which popular portrayals of Indians depart from participants' narratives. Our research explores portrayals of resistance, the depiction of conflict, the portrayal of women, and the relationship between Indian spirituality, land and resistance. We also consider the ways in which resistance at Wounded Knee has entered popular culture, how that meaning has been accepted, for the most part without criticism, as historical fact. We explore the context in which popular narratives about Wounded Knee were produced, how they conflict and why. We deconstruct the assumptions that undergird the narratives. We look at the narratives of Native Americans who were participants but whose narratives are contested inside the Indian community. We look at the narratives of non-Natives, participants and non-participants to discover how popular culture works to subvert acts of resistance by dispossessed people. We also address our responsibility as adult educators to "unpack" the representations of these historical events and to delineate the impact of so-called "historical facts" and representations of those "historical facts" in our daily lives.

Popular culture claims truth, legitimacy, literally to say what constitutes reality and meaning. Marxist theories of popular culture, such as those put forth by Adorno, suggest that acts of resistance are neutralized by popular culture to perpetuate the dominant narrative. In the sense that we take neither resistance or popular representations of it to be more real, more authentic our methodology is poststructuralist. Leaders in the 1973 resistance both influenced and were influenced by media and ancestral representations of who they were. There is no core, real, no self, identity free of representation. In this sense, we depart from vulgar Marxist interpretations of the past which posit some reality beyond or before our interpretation of it, a reality that remains outside time uninfluenced by the bodies and language which speak it. Our methodology also resists an anglofeminist interpretation of popular culture, though we actively seek the voices of the women who resisted at Wounded Knee. We have found that the silences, the gaps and absences in popular representation (what cannot be said) are as important, if not more so, than the presences (what is shown, portrayed). Indeed, the absences make the present, present, make it seem ready to be taken up and consumed as reality."

Thematic Analysis

In the following section, we describe and summarize the themes that emerged from our study of popular representation of resistance at Wounded Knee. The theme "I am an Indian," taken from the film *Crow Dog*, refers to the relative silence, often absence, of women as resisters in popular representations of the events at Wounded Knee, despite their very active presence at the historical Wounded Knee. The themes, "We are becoming what we were, " taken from the film *Crow Dog*, refers to our analysis of the way that tradition and conflict between resisters are portrayed in popular culture. And, the final of three themes, "Crying for a vision," describes the failure of these films to portray the integral connections between Lakota spirituality and the land.

"We are becoming what we were"

The vision statement "we are becoming what we were," is described by Crow Dog as the spiritual mission of the Occupation of Wounded Knee. Wounded Knee, the geographical and physical place, is the place where all Indian people claimed the right to speak the destruction suffered by two generations of their relatives in white boarding schools in an era in which Indian spiritual values were mutilated by an imposed curriculum designed to destroy all Indian culture. The films we viewed portrayed a dichotomy between the "hang-around-the fort" Indians and the "traditionalists." This dichotomy was used by the media, by Dickie Wilson and by the government to paint the "traditionalists" as armed and dangerous and to justify military force at Wounded Knee. Although the majority of AIM members were urban Indians engaged in community advocacy in cities around the country, the call for their help by the traditional Lakota can be understood in the shared meaning of the need to protect community, a value believed to be lost by the "hang-around-the fort" Indians.

Movies, literature, discussions, academic and non-academic, have generally treated the concept of returning to tradition as an unproblematic process. There is little talk, openly, of the struggle within the Lakota Nation to find and name tradition. While the films and literature clearly address the war between Dickie Wilson's regime and the "traditionalist," Dickie Wilson's regime is treated as progressive, even in the face of extreme brutality, mismanagement of tribal funds, and a high rate of murder. It was Dickie who received the costly military support to quell an internal rebellion. Traditionalists, on the other hand are framed by their "alleged" desire to return to the "old ways" that are gone forever.

To fail to show the context of conflict among resisters is to fail to acknowledge the meaning of resistance and deny resisters human agency. Recognizing and understanding conflict within resistance is intrinsic to understanding the process of "returning" to tradition. Tradition is not a thing carved in stone. It is flowing, moving, changing, ebbing. It is the life blood of a culture. At no time in history is it still and permanent. Although *Crow Dog* was a film made in the effort to gain his release from prison, it clearly posits the knowledge of tradition and the definitions of tradition in his hands alone. It turns a rebel Indian into a "good Indian" well received by academics who supported his speaking engagements to raise money for the cause of returning to tradition. In their efforts to romanticize the Indian cause, the movie makers have neglected such realities as the fact that women, historically, in Lakota culture and at Wounded Knee, played major roles as leaders and in the resistance. Ultimately, it suggests that the decision to return to tradition and the subsequent stand taken at Wounded Knee has ended , and in victory.

"I am Indian"

Women's voices are relatively absent in the films that portray the events at Wounded Knee. From *Dances with the Wolves* to *Thunderheart,* movie makers clearly do not understand women leaders in Lakota culture. Although *Lakota Woman* shows clear engagement of women in the decision making process to take the Knee, still, the movies central focus is on Mary Crow Dog's determination to give birth to her baby inside Wounded Knee. That focus, without further cultural explanations of its meaning, leaves everyone in general believing that Mary and all the other women who went to Wounded Knee were some bunch of "groupies" following the "pretty" Indian men who represented leadership and resistance. The fact that Mary is viewed by her people as a warrior is not explained for those who do not know the tradition of warrior societies inside Lakota culture. Although Mary Crow Dog's decision was a symbol of the determination of the occupants to renew tradition and claim culture, those connections are hard to grasp. In giving such importance to Mary the mother, Mary the warrior, resister, and leader is lost in the symbolism surrounding the birth of her first child Pedro. Likewise photographs of the Ghost Dancers in 1890 and the images of the Ghost Dancers shown in *Thunderheart* do not include women. All the stories surrounding these events told to us by Lakota people, including Leonard Crow Dog's story, tell us that women were very much a part of these sacred ceremonies except in the time of their moon. Finally, nowhere in any of the films do we see the women who were the underground railroad, the lifeline to Wounded Knee, those women who knew the geography of the Dakota hills intimately, who risked their lives to pack in food supplies during the long cold nights.

"Crying for Dream"

Resistance is integrally connected to our need to transform our relationships. In Lakota culture everyone and everything is alive and lives in relation one to another. Anglo intent to outlaw and destroy the religious life of the Lakota people went straight to the heart of white determination to take and own the land as commodity. The spirit life of the Lakota people is one with the land. To take the land is to destroy Lakota spirituality which cannot exist apart from the land. To acknowledge those relationships is to acknowledge our own participation as white people in the killing of the land in a capitalist way of life. Our refusal to acknowledge our participation is tied to our efforts to destroy Lakota religion and to portray it as "pagan worship" engaged in by "uncivilized heathen" who don't know any better. Our greed for the land has also lead to our failure to represent the complexity of Lakota religion in the daily lives of Lakota people. Ceremonies, sacred and social, are seen totally out of context so as to be seen as meaningless ritual. The return to these ceremonies is a clear, resounding statement by the resisters to take back their relations. The words "return to tradition" are not empty words. They are fighting words reflecting the cosmology of a people whose world view connects them to the earth and hence to a responsibility to care for the earth. Efforts to break these connections, according to Vine Deloria, have led to social and spiritual illness within the Lakota Nation because the people have been prevented from fulfilling their responsibilities to the land.

Certain assumptions about the nature of spirituality are omnipresent in all the films. Perhaps *Thunderheart* best shows the permanence of the romantic notion that no matter how far from home Indians roam or no matter how white they become that spiritual connection to the past and the land can never be broken by enculturation in white society. Even a seasoned FBI agents runs with his ancestors in the massacre of 1890. The stance taken in *Lakota Woman* to dance until they could see their ancestors again suggests the intent to reestablish the connections between past, present and future generations in much the same way the Ghost Dancers danced for the return of their ancestors and the buffalo. White soldiers, so threatened by these images, murdered people to destroy them. Today, the elders speak of the events in 1973 in the movie *Crow Dog;* they speak of taking the young AIM warriors by the hand, closing the circle, healing the sacred hoop. In 1973 these images once again were powerful enough to incite war on the Northern Plains.

Conclusions

Movie makers are naturally drawn to the most palatable portrayals of controversial subjects and issues; palatable makes money. Movies are, after all, a form of narrative; and narratives, especially comfortable, sellable ones, are generally defined by beginnings and endings, charming, likable characters and easy resolutions. But, as Mary Crow Dog reminds us, after the television cameras and movie makers go home, leaving the public to believe that there has been resolution or closure, the road to Wounded Knee remains full of pot holes. That is, after resistance, in the movies, the spotlight is taken off the resisters who are left to struggle internally alone. Popular culture, the media, frames resistance in a way that minimalizes it as a threat; resistance, conflict is resolved in a simple way that allows viewers to sleep conformably.

Our research suggests, that the popular culture industry, in a effort to make the story lines surrounding rebellion more palatable, reduces women's participation in and contributions to acts of resistance, oversimplifies the connection between land and Lakota spirituality, and minimalizes or fails to appreciate the complexity of conflict within resistance and in doing so fails to grasp the complexity of the struggle to regain Lakota tradition.

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PARTICIPANT PERCEPTIONS OF RESIDENTIAL LEARNING

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Abstract

This paper reviews findings from a study of participant perceptions of residential adult learning. Residential learning programs were defined as programs in which participants live and learn together, full-time, in the same location, for the full duration of their program.

The long history of residential adult learning, its growing diversity and complexity, and its intangible yet core qualities, make the understanding of this phenomenon a timely challenge for the field of adult education. For over 60 years, both the lack of clarity about the central concepts of this phenomenon and the lack of empirical research have been noted (Bron, 1992; Buskey, 1990; Collins, 1985; Davies, 1931; Faithfull, 1992; Field, 1992; Houle, 1971; Liveright, 1960; Schacht, 1960; Simpson, 1990). In addition to these gaps in our understanding, the voice of the participant of residential learning has been obtained and documented in the literature only to a very limited degree. My own interest in residential learning grew out of the belief that perhaps a certain "magic" existed in residential learning experiences, one that had and would continue to defy definition. Although a certain "folk wisdom" does appear to exist about learning in residence, again, little systematic study exists to either support or disprove that wisdom.

Within the past decade, however, both the literature and the agendas of several international conferences have evidenced a renewed interest in the serious study of adult learning in residence (Bron, 1992; Buskey, 1992; Collins, 1985; Field, 1992; Simpson & Kasworm, 1990). Two research questions were posed in this study to address the above problem areas and achieve a fuller understanding of residential learning. First, how do people who have participated in residential learning describe and explain their residential learning experiences? Second, how do the descriptions of residential learning from the perspective of participants compare with the descriptions of residential learning found in the literature? A synthesis of participant perspectives and related literature suggested a matrix of key elements and themes of residential learning, presented in the study as an alternative means of examining this educational phenomenon.

Related Literature and Theoretical Framework

The conceptual roots of residential adult learning can be traced to Denmark. There, during the first half of the 19th century, Grundtvig developed his concepts of the "living word" and a "school for life" which led to the establishment of the Danish folk high schools (Houle, 1971; Livingstone, 1943). The goals of the folk high school focused on the enlightenment of the individual; the desire was for these schools to lead to richer and more rewarding lives for humankind (Houle, 1971). In the United States, the character of residential adult education has varied, ranging from the opening of Chautauqua in 1874 in New York, to the establishment of the Kellogg Centers for Continuing Education in the 1950s and 1960s, through the founding of the John C. Campbell Folk School in North Carolina and the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee (Buskey, 1992; Charters, 1980; Eklund & McNeil, 1970; Stubblefield & Keane, 1994). The latter two schools both bear a resemblance to the original Danish folk highschools and continue to thrive today.

Descriptions of the residential learning experience have tried to capture the unique qualities of this experience. A framework of characteristics, based primarily on the work of Schacht (1960) around the "values" and "advantages" of residential learning, and of Houle (1971) on the "characteristics" of residential learning, was developed to guide this study. Additional theoretical constructs from adult learning and ecological psychology were integrated into the framework, however, to broaden the base from which residential learning could be examined. Six characteristics, or elements, resulted from this synthesis of the literature: (a) detachment from the familiar, (b) personal growth and identity, (c) learning domains and process, (d) impact of time, (e) sense of community and fellowship, and (f) environment.

Methodology

A qualitative research design was selected as the most appropriate for this descriptive, in-depth exploration of residential learning. Five audio-taped focus groups were held with a total of 30 former participants from three residential learning programs. "Theoretical saturation" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was reached after an analysis of the fifth focus group confirmed both a redundancy of data and a lack of new data.

Programs and participants were selected through purposeful sampling; sets of criteria were established for each. The programs selected for this study were: (a) The Institute for the Management of Lifelong Education (MLE) held at Harvard in Boston, Massachusetts; (b) The Mountain Folk School of the University of Wyoming held in Centennial, Wyoming; and (c) The Rocky Mountain Leisure Workshop (Rec Lab) held in Bailey, Colorado. MLE is a 12-day intensive program of professional development for leaders of institutions serving non-traditional adult learners. The University of Wyoming Mountain Folk School is a one-week experience attended primarily by faculty and students, focused, at the time of this study, on environmental education and social responsibility. The Rocky Mountain Leisure Workshop, a regional group affiliated with the national "Recreational Laboratories and Workshops," is designed for hands-on leadership training in recreation and leisure activities.

Focus group participants were selected from lists provided by administrators of these programs. All who chose to participate were accepted. Five to eight individuals participated in each focus group. Participants ranged from 30 years of age to individuals in their 60s. Eighteen females and 12 males participated; all except one were Caucasian. Eighteen individuals held advanced degrees, seven were currently graduate students, and five had either completed or were attending college. Most indicated having been in their careers from between 11 and 20 years.

As is all naturalistic or constructivist inquiry, this study was concerned with the description and understanding of perspectives of individuals. Data analysis needed to be designed to ensure the "thick description" desired in qualitative research to represent accurately and adequately the multiple realities of the participants. Accordingly, an inductive, discovery-oriented approach was used, adapting the technique of constant comparative analysis and the central principles of grounded theory as described by Glaser and Strauss (1967). A sequential approach to analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994) was also used to add manageability, ensure findings were "grounded in the data" (Merriam, 1988), and categories derived inductively. First, codes, cluster codes, and narrative "stories" were developed during a three-level process of coding. Categories were then defined through the grouping of recurring concepts, and themes then identified from these categories. Finally, a matrix of key elements of these themes was suggested as an alternative means of examining learning in residence.

The use of a computer program for the analysis of qualitative data, HyperRESEARCH, allowed for a high degree of complexity in the coding process as well as increased options for the organization, retrieval, and reporting of data and findings. Reports and notebooks provided the data trail necessary for the inquiry audit and peer debriefing (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) conducted to attest to the trustworthiness of the data analysis process.

Themes of Residential Learning

Five themes were suggested by participant descriptions of their residential learning experiences, three descriptive themes and two overarching themes. The two overarching themes were differentiated as such as they were consistently interwoven throughout the other three descriptive themes. Brief summaries of each follow, each with key distinguishing elements identified from participant comments.

Descriptive Theme of Building Relationships in Residence Participant descriptions of relationships that developed during residence reflected the differences they perceived between developing relationships in residence and developing relationships in their normal lives. Participants commented both on bonding between and among individuals as well as the bonding that occurs within a group as a whole.

At this group level, participants described their relationships using the following terms: fellowship, togetherness, community, and family. They noted an association that forms among a group of people that is different from that which is normally possible in a traditional classroom. Participants also referred to the formation of a "cohort," to "group cohesion" and to the "coalescing of groups." Overall, many participants felt the dimension of residence somehow compressed, magnified or quickened the development of a "sense of community." In addition, several participants indicated residence somehow affects the quality, perhaps the depth, of relationships formed among individuals.

Participants described relationships formed in residence as intimate, without facades, interdependent, intense, personal, unavoidable, context-based, created through informal bonding, and forming with people different from expected. One participant maintained, "The residential part of this program. . . doesn't necessarily help the learning so much, but it certainly gives the overall group a whole lot more cohesion."

Descriptive Theme of Learning in Residence Participants also gave their perspectives of what and how they learned in residence. Both planned, structured and guided learning occurred as well as unanticipated, unstructured learning. In addition, participants maintained certain aspects of their residential experience enabled, even enhanced, their learning. Participants explained, for example, they learned by having "free time" available to them, through group reinforcement and support, through being immersed in their learning, through having more opportunities to learn, by having fun and playing, with the help of their personal relationships, and by being stretched beyond personal limits and comfort zones. As one participant explained, "I think you've got more opportunities to learn when you're involved in it from different angles, different perspectives, different times of the day, everything factored into it."

Descriptive Theme of Individual Change Participants also revealed how they were affected by their residential experiences, what they valued and considered significant. Although participants implied they had gained new knowledge or skills, their focus was on personal changes they perceived in themselves before and after the residential program. These individual changes seem to have been possible only through the interplay of several or all elements of the residential experience, rather than as a direct result of only one or two. One participant explained, "But I was real aware of some kind of an enlightenment that - you know, it was okay to be an adult and to have fun, and learn in the process and make friends."

The changes in participants were both short-term, lasting only for the duration of the program, and long-term, eventually coming to characterize their lives. During their programs, participants felt a sense of safety, "loosened up," acted youthful, were creative, expanded their self-awareness, and became more accepting of their residential experience. Participants also stated they underwent personal transformations and experienced changes in personal ideals and values, with some individuals even making significant changes in their lifestyles.

Overarching Theme of Detachment Detachment refers to both the physical and psychological isolation from the real world experienced by participants of residential learning programs. First, participants perceived themselves as isolated from the "real world," the world that existed outside of the physical and psychological boundaries of their programs. This perception of isolation seemed to arise from the physical location of the program, program design, or a combination of both. Participants also felt separated and freed from the pressures, roles, responsibilities, and routines of daily life. In addition, participants felt they were able to immerse themselves in their learning, as well as to focus, concentrate, and reflect on themselves and their lives. One participant stated, "Separating yourself from just all of the other roles that you play was like a gift to yourself. I have permission now to immerse myself in this experience for me."

Overarching Theme of Continuity Continuity refers to the continuous and uninterrupted nature of residential learning programs and to the opportunities that were correspondingly afforded to program participants. Participants perceived themselves involved in a "continuum of experience," one that was uninterrupted by outside distractions or responsibilities. They found this an opportunity that rarely, if ever, was able to be achieved in their normal lives. Specifically, participants noted they lived together 24 hours a day, were together for a continuous period of days or weeks, were uninterrupted by outside distractions and pressures, and became immersed in their experiences. One participant explained, "There was a continuum [and]. . . .I think that the only way you can get that continuum. . .is in a residential [situation]." Another participant agreed: "There was time here. I mean, the residence gave you the time to do, to think through something-maybe to finish a conversation."

Conclusions and Discussion

Two major conclusions derived from the key findings of this study. First, the two overarching themes, "detachment" and "continuity," characterize and distinguish the phenomenon of residential learning. Second, relationships among key elements of the residential learning experience suggest an alternative framework from which to examine and understand residential learning. This framework was presented in the study to be considered for future testing. Detachment and continuity, because of their pervasiveness throughout participant comments, bear further discussion here.

The literature of residential learning (Houle, 1971; Kafka, 1970; Lacognata, 1961; Livingstone, 1943; Pitkin, 1959; Schacht, 1960; Simpson & Kasworm, 1990) and participant comments both identify and indicate the value of the dimensions of detachment and continuity to residential learning. Two conjectures are immediately possible: first, both dimensions are essential to achieve the full potential of residential learning; and second, both contribute to a sense of immersion, an intensity, breadth, and depth of experience that is unable to be achieved without them. Although building relationships, learning, and personal change occur every day, they are diluted by that same context of daily life. In residential learning, detachment and continuity remove the distractions, threats, and restrictions of the outside world, resulting in an intensity of relationships, learning and change. As Pitkin (1959) stated, "We need residential adult education because adults need to continue learning. . . .because it can do things for adults which other forms of education do not seem to be able to do" (p. 162).

Closing Comments

The major contribution of this study is the addition of the voice of the participant to the study of residential learning. Based on participant comments, further research should examine the relationships of key elements of residential learning to transformative learning, connected teaching, and authentic activity. In practice, building relationships, learning, and individual change should be explicitly stated goals of residential learning programs: according to participants, all occur during residential programs and all should be anticipated and evaluated. In addition, the development of dimensions of detachment and continuity should be considered central to programs interested in achieving the full potential of residential learning.

Finally, the literature, participants, and folk wisdom of residential learning indicate these educational experiences can profoundly impact lives. Although this study suggests the special qualities of residential learning are not the "magic" frequently implied by the folk wisdom, they do appear unique, and do seem to result from rather magical combinations of influences. Perhaps the power of residential learning comes simply from the creation of a complex of elements resulting in "a different atmosphere," one in which individuals can detach themselves from daily realities and relax in an uninterrupted continuum of experience. Within this atmosphere, however, participants have confirmed they build relationships of depth, and learn in ways different from the norm. Moreover, some individuals change profoundly, even if only while within that world of the residential program.

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Taking it to Practice: Building A Critical Postmodern Theory of Adult Learning Community

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Abstract: This paper considers research themes important to contemporary Canadian federal HRD (human resource development) policy, research, and experimentation. It takes up security, work, and learning concerns affecting today's citizen workers and learners and develops aspects of a critical postmodern theory of adult learning community.

Introduction: We live, learn, and work in these changing times, often running on empty, and perhaps too complacent about the fragmentation, instability, and insecurity generated by the interplay of local and global change-force factors. In Canada, the trend toward high unemployment in recent decades continues, the nature of employment and its relationship to adult education alter, and temporary employment normalizes as the order of the day for many citizen workers. Canadians wonder about the abilities of government and education to solve the array of social and economic problems reducing the quality of everyday life. In these times of transition, too many people have been pushed on to a *knowledge-for-now* training treadmill that provides skills with short-lived utility and marketability. A new class is emerging as sociotechnological change and economic downturns force citizen workers into survival mode, into subjection, into compliance with government and corporate agendas. Their work lives are fragmented into periods in which the skills they learn enable them to be employed for just a time before they return to slip and slide on the instrumental-learning treadmill. There they learn new skills required for tomorrow's jobs, skills already doomed to obsolescence. The ultimate socioeconomic return of this dehumanizing training travesty is an alienated contingent of functionally unemployable persons whose self-esteem and self-confidence are battered (Grace, in press). This situation seems hard to resolve in light of a pervasive, contemporary conservative ethic that erodes the social in its concern with the economic. This ethic, melding the social and the economic, fails to address the life, learning, and work issues of Canadian citizens in respectful and meaningful ways (Grace, in press).

In proposing research themes for a human resources development agenda to guide its future strategic planning of policy research and experimentation projects, Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) projected in 1994 that policy development in the anticipated future would be based on the assumption that economic and social policy will continue to be brought closer together. HRDC presented a research thematic framework that it subdivided into foci on the worlds of security, work, and learning. This framework aims to achieve homeostasis among these worlds as it takes a holistic view of citizens' lives. It points out the increasing complexity of individual education and work patterns in institutions including households, markets, communities, and governments. As HRDC makes its case for *lifelong learning* in these times, we can hear the reverberation of the voices of Roby Kidd, Alan Thomas, and other adult educators who have promoted the concept in the era of modern practice:

> Education is no longer an exclusively once in a lifetime, full-time experience reserved for the young. The increasing complexity of school-work transitions and the combination of

> work and education present numerous challenges. ... The changing life cycle of learning merits close examination. (HRDC, 1994, p. 29)

This learning journey is fraught with problems. HRDC itself acknowledges certain failures of government and education. Gender remains a significant issue: "Precarious and part-time work is more likely to be held by women, and labour market segregation by sex remains the current workplace reality for major segments of the labour market" (p. 12). The marginalized still struggle to swim in mainstream currents. Access to adult education continues to follow the post-World War II trend: The better educated you are, the more likely you are to participate in continuing education. On the cusp of a new millennium, HRDC reiterates the call for a better understanding of the social exclusion phenomenon, its determinants, and the patterns of work, learning, and family structure of marginalized populations? In the face of this call, one wonders what progress we have made since war was declared on poverty over one quarter century ago. One also worries about bothersome subtexts associated with this call. For example, HRDC's concern with investing in children is caught up in a traditional understanding of family that blatantly demeans the diversity in contemporary family structures and assaults the family-and-work culture of single-parent families as a recipe for juvenile delinquency and other social problems.

The contemporary melding of the social and the economic demands that Canadian adult education rethink and revise its forms and functions. We might begin by asking: Does adult education, itself in a state of flux in today's change culture, have a recognized and useful presence (a space) and a respected and valued position (a place) in society? We might also ask: How can adult educators move beyond the survivalist strategies and reactive stances shaping our learning culture? In times when lifelong learning is codified as HRD, how do we develop policies and programs that respect and honor learner identity-differences? How can adult educators operating in critical, HRD, and other modes form linkages with one another and foster an encompassing, reflexive practice of adult education? Answers to these questions might begin by turning to history, by investigating the socioeconomic complexities shaping contemporary life, learning, and work, and by recognizing that theory and practice must be mutually informative in enterprise building.

Building a Critical Postmodern Theory of Adult Learning Community: With this understanding in mind, this paper now considers five notions important to a critical postmodern Theory of Adult Learning Community (TALC and pronounced *talk*): 1) TALC emphasizes community by fostering new relationships among adult educators and learners where engagement and challenge proceed from the mutual recognition, respect, and valuing of one another's roles; 2) TALC focuses on knowledge production, not knowledge consumption, and values knowledge informed by experience and disposition; 3) TALC addresses issues of language, form, and accessibility in theory development as it considers how theory and practice can inform one another; 4) TALC draws on the foundations of adult education and emphasizes the importance of a philosophical rationale and the historical context in shaping an interdisciplinary enterprise; and, 5) TALC asks adult educators to use these ideas to invigorate forms of adult education that address the instrumental, social, *and* cultural concerns of people living in a contemporary change culture of crisis and challenge.

Theme 1 - TALC Emphasizes Community: Learning in community is the underlying premise of J. J. Tompkins's adult education and cooperation model used in the Antigonish Movement (Grace, 1995). The pedagogy of the people embodied and embedded in this movement challenged people to think, study, and act as a learning community that could work together to solve its own social and economic problems. We can take this pedagogy into today and raise issues of voice and power as we investigate conflicting interests impacting work and education agendas. This shapes the learning community as a political place where empowerment and action demand a collective engagement with educator and learner cultures, situations, dispositions, experiences, and histories. Contexts and relations of power are taken up in an exploration of the textures of work and education that influence the informing and transforming of individuals.

TALC invigorates classroom practice by recognizing and fostering teaching and learning as dynamically interactive political acts. In classrooms adult educators and learners *both* take up roles as investigators, challengers, communicators, knowledge producers, and enablers in the teaching-learning process. The adult educator is no longer merely a facilitator or a human resource person. Collins (1991), advancing a proactive role for adult educators, has these critically reflective participants in the teaching-learning process address concerns with methodology, technique, and performativity within a broader framework that raises questions of purpose, interests, contexts, and assumptions underlying utility (see Brookfield, 1995, for examples of this practice). Engaging in this critical practice means that educators assist students to understand how contexts and relations of power shape life, learning, work, and their possibilities. Jansen and Klercq (1992) relate, "The positions and experiences of participants of learning processes cannot be isolated from their integration into larger political, economic and cultural connections, which not only leave their marks on their concrete experiences but which also to a large extent determine which experiences and interpretations of the world are acknowledged and which are marginalized" (pp. 99-100). Using TALC, adult educators and learners shape classrooms as places to think, deliberate, study, understand, and lay a foundation for action. There they, as people with particular dispositions and experiences, question and ask questions about the questions. They let their voices be heard, voices that can be engaged and, when necessary, be challenged.

Theme 2 - TALC Focuses on Knowledge Production: TALC views knowledge as a social and cultural construct caught up in contexts and relations of power. It considers knowledge production to be intimately connected to questions of voice and value in adult education. To maximize its merit, TALC argues that this production must be as much about experience and disposition as it is about facts and techniques. It is concerned with a key question: How do adult educators and learners produce knowledge that reflects an enterprise where learner locatedness is recognized, respected, and fostered? TALC addresses this question mindful of the rapid pace of knowledge production, exchange, and distribution in contemporary times and aware that "the kind of knowledge that is considered high status ... is strongly related to those groups with economic and cultural power in the larger society" (Apple, 1992, p. 785). It acknowledges that many learners come to adult education classrooms with an inferiority complex perpetuated by the continuous effort to cope with new-skill ignorance and keep pace on the instrumental-learning treadmill. In today's knowledge economy learners need to understand that *knowledge is for now* and its facts and *how to* descriptions are carefully controlled. The learning experience is reduced to episodic skill acquisition (Bauman, 1992). It is a partial and transitional encounter in a cycle of learning for the moment.

This scenario is normalized by the contemporary melding of the social and the economic and by "the increasing importance of the knowledge economy and its associated productivity-increasing technologies in the areas of electronics, computers, communications and robotics" (HRDC, 1994, p. 12). The intensity and rapidity of knowledge production too often make citizen workers and learners easy prey to educational forms serving government and corporate techno-economic agendas that devalue people. TALC challenges us to address this issue and infuse contemporary adult education practice with sociological critiques of science and expert knowledge (see, for example, Bauman, 1992; Beck, 1992) that help educators and learners frame instrumental concerns within a broader, reflexive practice.

Theme 3 - TALC Considers How Theory and Practice Can Inform One Another: Since World War II, the emergence of modern practice has been encumbered by the ambiguity between adult education as a field of study and adult education as a field of practice (Schroeder, 1970). This ambiguity limits possibilities for theory and practice to significantly inform one another. TALC seeks to build theory-practice connections in the Freiran (1993) sense that when it comes to theory and practice, one cannot negate the other for its own sake. Freire "advocate[s] neither a theoretic elitism nor a practice ungrounded in theory; but the unity between theory and practice" (p. 23). TALC holds the reflexive views that practice is theory lived out in the everyday and that theory comes alive when it is critiqued, challenged, and built upon. It follows suit with Collins (1991): "It is not so much a matter of trying to put theory into practice as of critically engaging with it while we try to put ourselves into practice" (p. 109).

TALC takes up language and meaning issues, focuses on presences and absences in theoretical discourses, and brings theory to bear on identity-differences shaped by relations of power. It focuses on theorizing as an active process informing practices aimed at meeting learner needs, addressing access concerns, achieving equity, and fostering human diversity. TALC encourages educators and learners to theorize and to engage and challenge one another respectfully. It values conflict over silence because it is a sign of interaction: someone is speaking *and* someone is listening. It asks educators and learners to resolve conflict by being authentic, making connections, and learning communicatively.

Theme 4 - TALC Values The Foundations of Adult Education: The modern practice of adult education has been variously critiqued for its inattention to its sociological, philosophical, and historical foundations. Since the 1980s, a valuing of the foundations of adult education is increasingly discernible in the field. TALC turns to the foundations to inform theory building, research, and reflexive practices. It purports that valuing an interdisciplinary approach to theory-research-practice helps educators and learners to problematize the contemporary melding of the social and the economic and to create pedagogical possibilities for moving classroom practice into the intersection where the instrumental and the transformative are both considerations. For example, the social history of adult education is importantly considered here. This history helps us to understand our present place and difference by giving us a sense of the change-force factors that have shaped contemporary adult education. It reveals the tensions between elements of the enterprise that maintain the status quo and other elements that seek to change it. It helps us gain perspectives on what is possible in an enterprise where the learning culture has been texturized by a faith in social progress and economic prosperity, at least as they are understood by the dominant culture.

Theme 5 - TALC Values Instrumental, Social, and Cultural Forms of Adult Education: In the contemporary change culture of crisis and challenge, adult education's usefulness and worth could lie in further shaping itself as an enterprise that honors human diversity and provides space and place for instrumental, social, *and* cultural forms of education. TALC recognizes that since the genesis of the modern practice of adult education, instrumental, social, and cultural forms of education have *all* been variously explored and valued within the field. The enterprise has drawn on instrumental understandings of practice including Knowles's (1970) delineation of andragogy and Verner's (1961/1963) concern for precision, demonstrated in his work on adult educational method, device, and technique. It has explored Lindeman's notion that "true adult education is social education" (1947 in Brookfield, 1987, p. 55). It has considered adult education as cultural education which Echeverria (1983) tells us can enable "the transformation of the world for an authentic development" (p. 37). TALC values the convergence of these forms of education in the midst of contemporary sociotechnological change and economic ebb tides. It argues that social and cultural educators can never be fully insulated and isolated from technicists who also carry out front-line work in the enterprise. It argues that it is in the sum of these educational forms - "instruction in bread-winning" (Nietzsche, 1964, p. ix) plus social and cultural education - that adult education has value for life, learning, and work.

While TALC holds with Finger (1991) that we must "conceive of adult education practice in a broader perspective than one of technical training" (p. 134), it realizes that bread-and-butter issues are front and center for citizen workers and learners in today's socioeconomic milieu. Thus instrumental forms of education must be given space and place in an inclusionary, reflexive practice of adult education. TALC, however, texturizes the technical, agreeing with Collins's (1991) contention that while the critically reflective adult educator can use technique, this educator does so within a framework emphasizing that the term vocation has both ethical and practical components. He declares, "Ethically based and practical orientations provide a context from which rational, non-coercive, decision-making about the relevant incorporation of technique can be carried out" (p. 42). TALC purports that enterprise homeostasis requires contributions by instrumental, social, and cultural forms of education so that adult education impacts on citizens as a social and cultural movement *and* as an enterprise responsibly executing instrumental functions within an inclusive and reflexive practice. Jansen and Van Der Veen (1992) concur: They argue that a critical practice for contemporary times must "(re)integrate the teaching and learning of practical skills and knowledge that people need for daily living with the stimulation of questions and public debate about the future of society and the possible designs of individual and social life" (p. 281).

TALCing Theory-Research-Practice: So often shaped by its tendency to ignore theory and its desire to plunge into practice, what has adult education done for ordinary citizen workers and learners in the everyday? And what does the fact that adult education still struggles for space and place reveal about the success of enterprise efforts? How many real steps has adult education taken to advance the causes of Others such as single mothers often marginalized in the intersection of race and gender? How well has the enterprise examined the social and economic connections explored in the work of Jimmy Tompkins, Malcolm X, and other social educators and activists? TALC asks us to embrace ethics, justice, and the realities of social hierarchies and relations of power. It encourages us to take up these issues as a learning community sensitive to inclusion/exclusion issues. TALC demands that we develop new curricula that break the chain of constancy with which adult education curricula have functioned in social reproduction and the maintenance of patterns of social inequality in society (see Griffin, 1991). It asks us to highlight concerns with identity-difference, language, and meaning as we think, study, and act in the spirit of the Antigonish Movement. TALC asks us to consider ways in which adult education can be used to shape a pedagogy of the people that takes up the living, learning, and work issues of citizens in the everyday.

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The Mirror within the Mirror: Reflections on Multiculturalism, Theory and Practice

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The purpose of this paper is to explore the ways in which adult education graduate students' perceptions of race, class, gender and sexual orientation were transformed by the end of graduate adult education courses which included readings, reflection, discussions and other activities designed to foster self-awareness, critical reflection, and cultural sensitivity.

As many sources have reported (i.e. Morganthau, 1997; US Census Bureau, 1992), by 2050 White Americans will make up approximately 53% of the population while Hispanics, African, Native and Asian Americans and other minorities will comprise the rest of American society. This growing diversity has stimulated discourse at AERC and other conferences and forums concerning the roles professional adult educators should play in introducing issues concerning diversity and fostering multicultural awareness among their graduate students. Critical voices within adult education call attention to the fields continued neglect of the historical issues of power (Colin III, 1994; Hugo, 1990, Cunningham, 1989) and marginalization (Tisdell, 1993). Adult education as a field of practice claims that the experiences of learners are critical to effective practice (Mezirow, 1991; Knowles, 1980). However, the practice has until recently ignored the importance of ethnic, gender, race and sexual orientation as they relate to culture and power interactions within curriculum theory and classroom practice. Since adult education graduate courses should provide training for adult educators who interact with the larger diverse population of learners, curriculum should incorporate readings, reflection and discussions concerning the important issues of race, class and gender, sexual orientation (Bailey, Tisdell, & Cervero, 1994; Cunningham, 1989).

The important issue of helping adult educators become aware of the diversity of adult learners is an historical one. In an Outline of an Emerging Field: Adult Education, Hallenbeck (1964) wrote that missing in adult education literature were "housewives, Negroes, unskilled workers and the elderly" (p. 17). What Hallenbeck failed to acknowledge were the missing voices of a variety of ethnic groups and cultures beyond "Negroes" also excluded in adult education literature. The challenges now facing adult education professors are the concrete actions involved in restructuring their practice to mirror our increasingly multicultural nation. One of the implications for adult education curriculum reform is change in meaning making by students within graduate adult education classrooms. The purpose of this study is to explore the ways in which adult education multicultural courses changed or transformed graduate students' perceptions of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation when the courses included readings, reflection, discussions and other activities designed to foster self-awareness, critical reflection, and cultural sensitivity.

Review of the Literature

We based our perspective upon a combination of transformative adult learning theory and multicultural development theory. Mezirow (1991) describes perspective transformation as "the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our assumptions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand and feel about our world, changing these structures of habitual expectation to make possible a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrative perspective; and finally, making choices or otherwise acting upon these new understandings" (1991, p. 167). Because Mezirow's theory of perspective transformation focuses on individual transformation, it has been criticized by Clark and Wilson (1991) for uncritically reflecting the values of the White male middle class society and for its failure to address social change as an outcome (Collard and Law, 1989), which is a critical component of adult education.

One of the goals of multicultural education is the inclusion of other perspectives and voices in curriculum and pedagogy. In elementary, secondary and higher education, several models of inclusion of multicultural issues are well known (Banks, 1989; Sleeter & Grant, 1987; Bennett, 1986). Banks (1989) model is a stage approach which proposes that there are four levels of multicultural course content: the contributions approach, additive approach, transformative approach, and social action approach. In explaining his stages, Banks suggests that educators use more than one stage in classroom teaching, and in fact, use the stages to build upon each other. Bennett's (1986) developmental model of intercultural sensitivity theory can be used to examine how students' views of culture are transformed from a ethnocentric perspective to a broader ethnorelative perspective. Bennett's model allows educators to examine how students might move from denying differences in culture to accepting and valuing them. Sleeter and Grant (1987) contribution is a taxonomy which organizes how various multicultural scholars define multicultural education. Their classification system includes five levels: teaching the culturally different, the human relations approach, single-group studies approach, the multicultural education approach, education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist (1987). Sleeter and Grant provide educators with a systematic way to categorize various forms of multicultural education.

Although adult education as a field is beginning to recognize multicultural issues in curriculum and pedagogy (i.e. Tisdell, 1995; Ross-Gordan, 1994; Sheared, 1994; Tisdell & McLaurin, 1994), an inclusive model of multicultural awareness in adult education curriculum and pedagogy is lacking, specifically a model to integrate multicultural issues into graduate adult education courses. Tisdell and McLaurin (1994) examined the perspectives of faculty who included multicultural course content in higher education classes, and Ross-Gordan (1994) probed teaching principles from feminist, multicultural, and andragogical teaching theories. However, there has been little or no studies which assess the effects of including multicultural issues in adult education courses; also lacking are specific data on how the design of multicultural curriculum and learning experiences may encourage self-awareness, critical reflection, and cultural sensitivity among graduate students. Our study attempts to fill this void by exploring and examining the ways in which adult education graduate students' perceptions of race, class, gender and sexual orientation were changed or transformed by the end of graduate adult education courses which included readings, reflections, discussions and other activities designed to foster self-awareness, critical awareness, and cultural sensitivity. Our research explored two forms of theory to practice questions. The first part of our research examined the connection between the lived experience of the students, borrowing from a phenomenological approach to gain insight into the meaning making for students in multiculturally focused adult education courses. The second part of our study explored our own reflections, as professors of adult education, about our teaching of the courses and the pedagogical methods we employed to engage students.

We entered into this study with some questions concerning how the components of the curriculum and the concrete learning experiences affect graduate adult education students' perceptions related to multicultural issues. What is the relevance of transformative theory within the social context of the multicultural issues classroom? How do learners describe their transformative experiences? Finally, what outcomes of the curriculum were viewed by both the instructors and students as transformative?

Methodology

To answer our research questions, we examined two courses in different adult education graduate programs that included readings, reflection and discourse about multicultural issues. A total of 23 graduate students of mixed ethnicity agreed to participate in this study. The courses were taught by two professors, a White female and a Black male, both graduates from the same adult education doctoral program. Our objective was to listen to graduate students' descriptions of their experiences and document the themes (Spradley, 1979) which arose from these experiences. Students provided evidence in two forms, written course evaluations and conversations with the professors. As professors, we provided evidence from reflections on our teaching, observations of students, and discourse concerning our own courses. As students' own words created a phenomenological set of meaning making structures (Patton, 1991), we compared them to the existing body of adult education theory, multicultural theory, and pedagogical and andragogical practice literature. To provide a framework for examining our own practices, we used Bank's (1989) model which assesses multicultural curriculum. We used all four levels in our approach to raising the learners' awareness; however, we did not assume that all learners would see themselves as social activists by the end of the courses.

Findings

What emerged from the learners' written and oral descriptions were the themes of insight into personal lack of awareness, new concerns for the importance of diversity which impacts their own adult education practices, and fresh ways of understanding their potential for expanding their own and their students' thinking concerning multicultural issues. The most critical theme which emerged from the data, however, was the learners' reflections on the origins of their feelings, specifically how previously held unconscious perceptions of other cultures which potentially impacted certain populations of learners complied with societal hegemonic norms and stereotypes.

Insight into personal lack of awareness: Many of the students expressed an better understanding of "a world that is different from mine...I wonder what voices are being left-out and why." As another student said "I never had really given a lot of thought to considering how much other cultures actually influence our daily lives in the US." Students also found that "you cannot make changes if you are not at least aware of these issues." These quotes reflect the importance students placed on their heightened sensitivity to multicultural differences in American society. This sensitivity served as a catalyst to the students' own self-reflections of their experiences and increased their awareness of societal issues which were mirrored in their various adult education classrooms.

Diversity as it affects their own adult education practices: Participants within each class revealed their awareness concerning diversity as it applied to their particular adult education practice contexts. As one student explained "we are teaching a group of completely different people." This perception of "different than us" manifested itself in expressed concern that theories and notions of difference were not addressed in other graduate education classes even though the participants' adult education practices were composed of mostly minorities and/or women. Another participant expressed that "adult educators must be aware of the different views of different groups of people that comprise our...classes."

New ways of understanding and expanding their students' thinking: Participants expressed a heightened concern for understanding the adult students in their practices. As one student eloquently stated "we may live in a society of White male dominance, but we as adult educators very rarely encounter them (White males). We work with women and minorities." Another student furthered this analysis with her comment "if it has done nothing else it has made me more mindful of how I define my world and myself. ...when I walk into a classroom I must help each of those students to see the world clearly through their own eyes, not mine or anyone else's."

Awareness of Hegemonic Stereotypes: An awareness emerged that "we work with the ideals of the White male society and adult education students need to be aware of this." In their written course evaluations, students seemed to become self-aware of how their own unconscious assumptions concerning cultures "other" or different than their own mirrored hegemonic stereotypes. As one student wrote "Through a behind the scenes look' at majority mainstream assumptions, I have come to better understand the many automatic privileges a member of the predominant culture enjoys." Another student clarified his feelings this way: "I was unaware of the compounding factors of privilege and power until this class...when you don't think, you don't have to be aware."

This critical consciousness drove some students to reflect upon social justice issues or at least talk about taking actions which reflected their new self-awareness. Among the actions or promises were: "becoming a member of the first multicultural diversity committee in my firm," "contacting my CEO to speak about the importance of cultural diversity," "being not so quick to judge and more open to differences," and "taking on an obligation to act in a fair manner."

Professors' Reflections: As researchers/professors we intentionally used Banks' four levels of multicultural curriculum in a non-linear but directional manner as we taught our classes. We recognized the variety of life experiences students brought to the courses would result in different changes in self-awareness among the students. Three major practice issues emerged from our reflections: First, mixing forms of instruction (i.e. lectures, readings, guest speakers, films, small and large group discussions, and role play exercises encouraged discourse and awareness. The diversity of the population in the classes themselves helped stimulate useful discussion. Second, structured critical writing activities challenged students on both cognitive and affective levels. These activities took the form of reflection papers on readings, speakers, and films, providing students with a forum for a personal self-dialogue and private dialogue with the professors. Finally, both of us teaching these courses were engaged in continuing education in the relationship of the overlapping social dynamics of race, class, gender, sexual orientation and power which, through their interaction within the classroom, impact multicultural adult education. We recognize that teaching these courses made is even more aware of issues of power in graduate classrooms and further recognition concerning how power is grounded in culture. Open discussions in the classrooms helped us as professors clarify and reflect upon our convictions and objectives concerning multicultural education as our students elucidated their own beliefs.

Discussion

"When you don't think, you don't have to be aware:" We believe that this statement made by one of our students poignantly states how some of the students became more critically aware of multicultural issues. Other students' statements mirror the different levels of reflection and meaning-making that occurred and was expressed during our study. As Jacobson (1996) points out, the classroom experience does present a unique context in which learning takes place. While our experiences support Mezirow's (1991) notion of the importance of fostering critical reflection in adult learners, transformative learning theory does not explain completely how participants in our study gained awareness and cultural sensitivity.

Much like Tisdell's (1993) study of classroom dynamics and students' interactions, our research shows multiple factors at work in the classroom. Because these multiple factors are what seemed to foster critical reflection and awareness of multicultural issues, it is important for adult educators to create a culture conducive to discourse while actively facilitating and restructuring learning exercises both for and with their students. The adult education graduate classroom must be seen as a social context that mirrors power inequities in larger society; therefore, professors of adult education must be active in their attempts to create multiple new experiences, an understanding of power issues, and an awareness of hegemonic and cultural norms if graduate students are to gain experiences they can apply to their own adult education practices.

Our study is significant to the field of adult education because it helps explain how graduate students' perceptions concerning race, class, gender and sexual orientation may change because of the purposeful structured inclusion of multicultural issues in graduate level curriculum. Our action research presents a methodology that benefits practitioners and learners through advocating self-awareness, critical reflection, cultural sensitivity and renewed consciousness of the links between theory and practice. In order to prepare educators of adults to work with the larger diverse society of adult learners, we, as professors of adult education, must be proactive in addressing issues of race, class, gender and sexual orientation in our graduate classrooms.

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Title: IDENTIFICATION OF THE WORKPLACE BASIC SKILLS NECESSARY FOR EFFECTIVE JOB PERFORMANCE BY ENTRY-LEVEL WORKERS IN SMALL BUSINESSES IN OKLAHOMA

Author: Gerald W. Harris

Abstract: A modified Delphi technique was used to identify the workplace basic skills needed by employees in small businesses employing 50 or fewer workers. Employers rated a list of 36 skills from the SCANS Report, in importance, on a scale from 1-little importance to 10-extreme importance. The ratings along with written comments and verbal responses to preplanned questions in phone interviews were used to determine if the SCANS skills could be validated for small businesses in Oklahoma.

PERSPECTIVE

The Secretary's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills (SCANS) issued a report in 1991 that identified two conditions that have changed people's entry into the world of work: The globalization of commerce and industry and the explosive growth of technology on the job (What work requires of schools: A SCANS report for America 2000, 1991). Carnevale, Gainer, and Meltzer (1988) reported in the study, Workplace Basics: The Skills Employers Want, that the combination of demographic forces, and technical forces are driving the nation toward a human capital deficit among both new and experienced workers. Wirth (1992) marked momentous developments that have contributed to the changes occurring in work and education: The electronic computer revolution and the emergence of a competitive global market. According to Gray (1991), our nation's small businesses will have to be successful in order for the United States to remain economically competitive. Because small businesses have the flexibility required to adapt to changing market conditions, they are critical to economic growth in the global competition. The review of literature revealed numerous reports issued from commissions, committees, and panels of experts, all of which acknowledged that the changing nature of work in the U.S. is dictating a new workplace requiring a changing workforce to demonstrate a broad range of skills that allows the flexibility to do a number of tasks that cut across traditional occupational lines. Since small businesses, who require workers with flexible, multiple skills, are creating 40% of all new jobs (Wirth, 1992), determining the workplace skills necessary for successful job experiences by entry-level workers in small businesses takes on added importance. Bailey (1991) stated that the interaction of the content and organization of work with the content of schooling will contribute to our understanding whether the educational system is effective in preparing the workforce and how that effectiveness might be improved.

INTRODUCTION

The nation's workplace is experiencing radical change; this changing and evolving workplace is dictating changes in the skills required of the workforce. Much of the recent literature that describes the skills needed for employment addresses a high performance workplace which encompasses a broad spectrum of workers in various sizes and types of businesses. Since there are insufficient data regarding the job-related basic skills needed by entry-level workers in small businesses, the workplace basic skills deemed essential by small business owners/managers need to be identified. Thus adult education institutions can emphasize the needed skills in training programs and small businesses can retain the workforce required to be successful. Hence, the purpose of this research was to determine the perceptions of the workplace basic skills needed by entry-level workers by surveying small business employers in Oklahoma. This study was expected to answer the following research questions:

1. Are the workplace basic skills described in the SCANS Report perceived as necessary for effective job performance (by entry-level workers in small businesses in Oklahoma)?
2. How do the small business employers rank the workplace skills proposed by the SCANS Report in order of importance?
3. What is the extent of the agreement among small business employers in the various types of businesses of the importance of the skills needed by entry-level employees?
4. What is the extent of the agreement among small business employers in the various sizes of communities of the importance of the skills needed by entry-level employees?

METHOD OF RESEARCH

This research identified the workplace basic skills needed by entry-level workers in small businesses. By drawing upon the experience of small business owners and managers, the information obtained was utilized to clarify the employers' perceptions of the necessary skills. An attempt was made to conduct the research in a manner that allowed for reading and understanding by every person. The scope of this study included businesses (employing 50 or fewer workers) located in all geographic quadrants of the state of Oklahoma. In selecting participants for this study, consideration was given to the type of business, the number of employees, and the size of community where the business was located. The 40 participants in this study were limited to the owners or managers of the businesses and were recommended by personnel at area vocational-technical schools. The results were not generalized to businesses outside of the study, and the researcher's discretion was used in grouping participants according to the type of business.

The workplace basic skills identified by the SCANS Report were assumed to be important as a starting point to develop an instrument to be used in this research study. This Commission was formed by the U.S. Department of Labor to determine the know-how needed in the workplace. The workplace basic skills, as used in this study, included the basic skills of (but not limited to) reading, oral and written communications, computation, and various other general skills needed to perform tasks in a job as differentiated from occupationally specific skills needed to perform tasks for particular jobs. The SCANS Report detailed a list of 36 skills centered around the following: (1) Workplace Competencies-resources, interpersonal skills, information, systems, and technology. (2) Foundation Skills-basic skills, thinking skills, and personal qualities (Learning a living: A blueprint for high performance, 1992).

The Delphi technique has been used as a research method in varied situations demonstrating its flexibility in allowing data to be gathered and providing an appropriate method to reach consensus of opinion from experts; Harritt (1987) used a modified Delphi technique to obtain perceptions of the importance of alternative approaches to agriculture. The design of this research study involving workplace basic skills used a modified Delphi technique as a method of collecting data and as a means of securing expert convergent opinion without bringing the participants together. The modification consisted of using the 36 generic workplace skills identified by the SCANS Report to formulate the initial questionnaire mailed to study participants. Participants were then given the opportunity to suggest skills to be added to the list to be used in the next round of data collection. In the first round, participants rated the importance of each skill needed by an entry-level worker on a Likert type scale ranging from 1-little importance to 10-extreme importance. In the second round, participants were asked to consider the average group rating from the previous round before rating each skill again. A third round of data collection involved phone interviews with various participants to clarify comments made on the questionnaires and to accumulate reasons why individual ratings differed significantly from the group average. This qualitative data provided in-depth, comprehensive information to supplement the quantitative data gathered with the ratings. According to Key (1993), this method of obtaining information in a natural setting and using it to describe the variables under consideration seeks a wide understanding of the entire situation.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected from the two rounds of questionnaires were analyzed using descriptive statistics. The mean, the range, the variance, and the standard deviation were computed from the ratings for each of the 36 workplace skills and then analyzed. From each round, tables were constructed showing the mean ratings of the 36 skills ranked from the most important to the least important. Tables were also constructed to illustrate frequencies and percentages describing the participants' backgrounds and characteristics of the businesses. Qualitative data gathered, including background information, written comments on each skill rating, and comments solicited from phone interviews were analyzed considering each of the four research questions in regard to the variables of type of business, years in operation, number of employees, size of community where the business was located, age of the participant, and formal education level of the participant.

The Kendall Coefficient of Concordance (W) was used to determine the extent of the agreement among the small business employers of their ratings of the workplace skills. Siegel (1956) stated that the Kendall (W) measures the extent of agreement among several judges, or the association among three or more variables. To provide a basis for statistical analysis, types of businesses were grouped according to the end product of each business. Each group's ratings were used to find the mean of each of the 36 skills and then the skills were ranked. The sets of ranks were then used with the Kendall (W) to determine the extent of agreement among the groups. The Kendall (W) was also used to analyze the data in relation to the size of community were the business was located. Ratings of employers in each of four categories of size of community were grouped and the mean determined on each of the 36 skills. The means were then ranked for each category of size of community and the Kendall (W) was used to determine the extent of agreement between groups. To test the significance of the Kendall (W) statistic, a formula was used to calculate a Chi Square value. By referring to a table of critical values of Chi Square the probability associated with the occurrence of the null hypotheses was determined. If the Chi Square value is such that it would occur very infrequently by chance, then the Kendall (W) value is assumed to be a product of a non-chance factor and the null hypotheses are rejected (Popham, 1967).

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Based on an analysis of the findings of this study, the following conclusions were made:

(1) Based on the finding that 31 of the 36 skills (86.1%) received mean ratings within the interval of 6.0 to 10.0 on a continuum of importance (1-little importance to 10-extreme importance), it was concluded that small business employers participating in this research study perceived the skills from the SCANS Report as necessary for entry-level workers. Although the other five skills ranked lower, they received mean ratings which substantiated a moderate degree of importance.

(2) Based of the findings of the seven highest rated skills, it was concluded that the seven most important skills for entry-level workers were "Integrity/Honesty," "Listening," "Serves Clients/Customers," "Responsibility," "Participates as a Member of a Team," "Esteem," and "Sociability."

(3) Based on the findings that no additional skills were generated by participants, it was concluded that the 36 SCANS skills were indicative of the skills needed by entry-level workers in the small businesses that participated in this study.

(4) Based on the findings that the communication related skills received high ratings of importance, it was concluded that the small business employers valued the ability to communicate effectively by entry-level employees.

(5) Based on the findings that workplace skills related to personal qualities of entry-level workers received high ratings of importance, it was concluded that small business owners/managers value employees who demonstrate a desirable work ethic. After analysis of comments written on the questionnaire and verbal responses from phone interviews, it was noted that work ethic, as verbalized by the participants, actually consisted of several skills listed on the questionnaire dealing with personal qualities of workers.

(6) Based on the finding that technology related skills were ranked in the bottom 25 percent of the 36 skills that were rated, it was concluded that technology related skills were perceived by the small business employers to be the least important skills of those listed in the SCANS Report.

(7) Based on the finding that comments by the participants indicated an expectation for entry-level workers to perform many different duties and be versatile with more skills, it was concluded that small business owners/managers perceived that businesses with fewer employees need workers to perform numerous tasks and be multi-skilled.

IMPLICATIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE TO ADULT EDUCATION

Since the SCANS committee spent 12 months talking to business owners, public employees, union officials, managers, and to workers themselves, asking what skills were needed to be successful on the job, and these 36 skills were validated by this research, it would be prudent for adult education institutions to insure that these skills are integrated into curriculum areas to facilitate the preparation of adults for the workforce. However, it is recommended that adult education institutions consider needs assessments of small businesses in their service delivery area in order to verify employers' perceptions of needed skills in the local economy.

Employers in this study expressed concerns that fewer numbers of employees in businesses dictated a need for versatile workers with flexible skills which implies that adult education implement education/training that addresses the multi-skilling of workers. Strategies should be considered to balance the emphasis in education/training between foundation skills (including basic skills, thinking skills, and personal quality skills), workplace competencies, and specific skill training unique to a certain type of business. Emphasizing the skills employers require and the skills employees need on the job not only enhances a worker's abilities, but also assists in meeting the workforce needs of small businesses. Since the work ethic of employees was a strong factor cited by the employers in this research, emphasis in adult education should be placed on developing the desirable personal qualities which are associated with this work ethic.

The literature suggests that technology related skills are increasingly important in today's changing workplace, yet in this study the technology related skills were ranked in the bottom 25% of the 36 SCANS skills in importance. Further research should be conducted on the perceptions of small business employers concerning the importance of technology related skills.

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ANTECEDENTS OF INTERCULTURAL ADJUSTMENT OF AMERICAN EXPATRIATES IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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Abstract

A greater understanding of the antecedents of intercultural adjustment of Americans working in China can assist organizations in selecting, training and supporting employees who work in this country. Interviews with forty Americans and seven Chinese living in Beijing yielded seven categories of adjustment factors labeled as personality, expectations, prior overseas experience, motivation, language skills, intra- and intercultural relationships, preparation and training. Four categories could be classified as endogenous, that is originating within the person, and three could be considered exogenous, that is originating within the environment.

Background and Purpose of the Research

The growing reality of a world economy shapes the futures of many U.S. organizations including universities. In 1991 the U.S. had more than 3500 multinational corporations, 55,000 companies with regular international involvement, and 40,000 firms that carry out periodic operations abroad (Harris & Moran, 1991). American companies have responded to the trading potential of other countries. China, in particular, provides a source of inexpensive manufacturing and a market for U.S. goods and services. China has the "fastest growing economy on earth" with an annual growth of over ten percent from 1991 - 1995 (Zhang & Liu, 1995, p. 3). The total foreign trade between the U.S. and China in 1992 was nearly 17.5 billion (China Statistical Yearbook, 1993).

The success of expatriate businessmen, university professors and exchange students assumes increasing importance if the United States is to further cultural, scholarly, and economic exchanges with China. Yet, despite the recent flurry of exchanges, Hofstede (1991) maintains that organizations sending representatives abroad have yet to understand those factors which facilitate adjustment to host countries and host cultures. The purpose of this research study was to clarify, define and describe the antecedents of intercultural adjustment for American expatriates living in Beijing, the capital of the People's Republic of China.

Theoretical Perspective

Pratt (1989) maintained that one of the difficulties in adaptation for U.S. citizens living in China related to the divergent concepts of the self deeply imbedded in each respective culture. Such differences in cultural assumptions often result in early terminations which Caudron (1991), speaking of foreign assignments in general, judged to be between 18 and 68%. Yet, failure in an overseas assignment has rarely been due to lack of technical expertise, but rather reflected an inability to adapt to cultural differences (Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985; Marquardt & Engel, 1993). Black and Gregerson (1991) used an in-depth analysis of prior literature on cross cultural adjustment, with special reference to Pacific Rim nations, to develop a model which distinguished between 'anticipatory' factors of adjustment from 'in-country' factors of adjustment. This study attempts to further clarify those 'anticipatory' factors of adjustment by exploring the expatriate's own experience of preparing for life and work in China.

Methodology

It was decided, given the complexity of the adjustment process, that the best way to understand this process was from the expatriate's own perceptions. Although qualitative approaches are typically associated with exploratory research, qualitative methods can be used to clarify and enrich areas that have previously been the domain of quantitative methodology (Merriam, 1988). The particular qualitative method chosen was to conduct in-depth interviews. Collecting data by means of in-depth interviews allowed for more complete, freer expression of ideas in the context of a one-to-one personal encounter and the ensuing authentic dialog. The interview approach to data collection, as contrasted to the survey approach, also allowed for observations of nonverbal cues and other manifestations of affective aspects of the subject's adjustment process.

A semi-structured interview guide was chosen for collecting data because of its ability to elicit important information from the viewpoint of the subject interviewed rather than the interviewer (Merriam, 1988). The interview guide was developed based on the antecedents of expatriate adjustment first identified by Black and Gregersen (1991). Additional questions relating to self-efficacy (Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985) and motivation (Furnham, 1987) reflect themes that emerged during the pilot interviews. Pilot interviews were conducted with twelve expatriates living in Beijing six months before the data collection phase of the research on a separate trip to China with subjects unrelated to the study sample.

Population Selected for the Study

Following Patton (1990), a purposeful sample was chosen to provide the maximum amount and the best quality of information. The sample was selected from a population of U.S. expatriate professionals working and residing in Beijing, People's Republic of China. They included professionals working in the fields of business, education and government. To achieve a degree of triangulation interviews were also conducted with Chinese nationals who had worked extensively with U.S. expatriates. In qualitative research, a sample is judged to be adequate when additional cases appear to add no new information to the phenomenon under investigation. This level of saturation was reached when forty U.S. expatriates had been interviewed. Seven additional interviews were conducted with Chinese nationals who had worked extensively with U.S. expatriates and who were relatively fluent in English. The sample was also selected because of accessibility and the willingness of each subject interviewed to spend the necessary time with the researcher. Additional criteria for selection included the following: the subjects were assigned to live and work in China for at least one year and the subjects had lived in China for at least four months prior to the time of the interview. The forty subjects interviewed included 15 females and 25 males, exactly half of whom were married and half single at the time of the interviews. Subjects ranged from 25 to 60 year of age, with a mean age of 38. Types of employment varied: 22 subjects worked in private business, 15 in education and 3 in U.S. government foreign service. Time spent as an expatriate working in China ranged from 6 months to 9 years with a mean time of just over 3 years.

Interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed by the interviewer. In addition to the tape recording, the interviewer maintained a log of comments regarding each interview. The interview logs were written after the interviews. The logs included the date and time of each interview and observations of the subject such as nonverbal behaviors and any perceptions of the researcher that were descriptive of the context. The interviewer had previously spent a year and a half working in Beijing as a teacher of English to Chinese nationals. All interviews were conducted by one person within the period of six weeks. The interviewer's training for the data collection phase of the study consisted in having read various books on qualitative methods including several dissertations which used qualitative methodology and having conducted the pilot study in which he tested both his interview schedule and his own skills as an interviewer.

Results of the Study

American expatriates participating in this study turned out to be a diverse group with wide differences as to their levels of exposure to Chinese life and culture. At one extreme, expatriates with the U.S. Embassy or with large corporations lived relatively insulated from everyday life in China. They often viewed China as but another assignment in their rotation or another stop in their respective careers. At the other extreme, some interviewees lived close to the people and were immersed in the Chinese language and culture; their personal and professional futures appeared to be in China. Between these extremes many who were both short and long term workers demonstrated varying degrees of insight, interest and commitment.

Most expatriates in the business area led tightly circumscribed, single focus lifestyles. They expressed little time or energy for exploring the culture, studying the language or establishing friendships with Chinese nationals. Long workdays and grueling schedules were common. Like business people, U.S. Embassy personnel lived relatively independently of the local economy and culture. Since U.S. government employees are also subject to a policy of non-fraternization that requires them to report significant contact with Chinese nationals, they may have artificially limited their interactions with Chinese nationals. As perpetual outsiders, they may have seen only negative aspects of Chinese society and may not have been inclined to pursue more personal relationships. In comparison, the teachers interviewed were most often seen as immersed in Chinese daily life. They lived in Chinese neighborhoods; their relatively low pay in comparison with business and State Department personnel denied them access to western amenities and diversions available to business and foreign service employees. On the other hand teachers seemed to enjoy more relaxed work schedules and more opportunities for developing friendships with Chinese students and fellow teachers. Many teachers demonstrated a desire and an effort to learn the language and the culture.

Interviews generated remarkably consistent data despite the marked variations in work schedules and standards of living. What emerged from their comments was the portrait of the expatriate who is well-adjusted and effective in China, regardless of occupational assignment or level of language fluency in Chinese. Several major themes emerged from these interviews.

The preeminence of personality. The single most consistent theme to emerge could best be categorized as personality traits. Although preparation and prior experiences were seen as relevant, virtually all subjects focused on the notion of 'personality.' When discussing their own successes and failures and those of fellow expatriates, subjects used words such as flexibility, tolerance, open-mindedness, independence, risk-taking, curiosity, patience, stability and sensitivity to other values. Subjects made statements such as, "Personality is definitely most important;" "I think it completely depends on the personality." And "...if he has the wrong kind of personality he is not going to make it here." This theme was also supported by the seven Chinese nationals who provided a degree of triangulation as informants.

Appropriate expectations. Appropriate expectations were deemed critical in adjusting to the culture. On the other hand, inappropriate expectations were frequently cited as a primary cause of failure both by subjects and Chinese national informants. High expectations were associated with poor adjustment. Subjects repeatedly described adaptive expectations as lower than or equal to both living conditions and work accomplishment. In fact, several subjects insisted that a primary benefit of training and overseas experience prior to their present assignment was the effect these experiences had of lowering expectations as to what could be accomplished during the time limits of their assignments.

Prior overseas experience. Overseas experience did not have to be related to expatriate career assignments, but could have included tourism. As a matter of fact, the majority of those interviewed had such prior experiences. During the early stages of data collection, prior overseas experience did not seem to be important in the minds of those interviewed, but later, as the interviews progressed, these prior experiences took on a larger role in the shaping of attitudes and the realistic alignment of expectations to actual lived circumstances. Prior overseas experience appeared to impart not only specific knowledge about non-verbal and cultural cues, but a heightened sensitivity to cross-cultural issues, a greater tolerance for differences, and a greater flexibility and openness to new experiences.

The effect of having well defined goals. Having well defined personal and professional goals emerged as another dominant theme. Unless one had well defined personal and professional goals, motivation often seemed to be a problem. No questions in the interview guide were directed to the issues of motivation and professional goals, yet the majority of the interviewees made both direct and indirect reference to their importance in adjusting to China. Some subjects actually felt that motivation formed by explicit goals was the most important issue of all. According to one such subject, "People who really want to be here will be all right. If they don't want to be here, they won't adjust, they won't be able to handle it." Yet, motivation linked to clear goals alone was not viewed by the interviewees as sufficient. Some motives stemming from clear goals relate to successful adjustment, according to the subjects, while others did not. Even the most highly paid business people rejected financial gain as a sufficiently strong motivating force for an assignment in China. The preponderance of testimony supported goals such as "learning," "personal growth," "service," and "making a contribution to world understanding," as the most motivating goals.

Chinese language ability. The researchers, both with extensive backgrounds as modern language teachers, were surprised that this category did not have the greatest degree of saturation. Interviewees distinguished between having basic language skills and more advanced skills. If one had basic language skills, one could use public transportation and shop which allowed one to participate more fully in daily life. More advanced skills brought cultural understanding and an ability to relate to a broader cross-section of Chinese society. Language skills were proportionate to the length of assignments, as well as the nature of assignment and the subject's personal goals. Complete lack of language skills severely limited expatriates' options and personal freedom, thus negatively affecting their attitudes toward adjustment. Those who learned at least the most basic expressions which allowed them to engage in the daily tasks of living, of using routine services appeared to be the ones who adapted more successfully. attitudes.

Interpersonal relationships. This category was comprised of three levels of interpersonal relationships and included relationships with other Americans as well as with Chinese nationals. One could describe this category as working outward from a small circle beginning with one's nuclear family. The well-being of spouse and children were closely linked to the expatriate's success and effectiveness. Family problems were cited most often as the reason for unhappiness or the inability to complete an assignment. This finding parallels what is found in the literature.

A second level of interpersonal relationships extended to other American expatriates. These relationships appeared to be a critical source of practical and emotional support. However, subjects noted that these relationships were beneficial only if their fellow countrymen were themselves adapting successfully to life in China.

A third level of interpersonal relationships extended to Chinese neighbors and fellow workers. This level of interpersonal relationships describes those who have been most successful at adapting to life and work in China. In this regard, virtually none of the expatriates in business or government had close Chinese friends, but teachers who lived on the economy, so to speak, reported that their Chinese friends played an important part in their adjustment to life in China.

Prior training. Although this theme was often mentioned in the interviews, it was not regarded as the most important factor. As a matter of fact, the majority of interviewees had not participated in a formal training program prior to their arrival in China. Yet most felt that some type of preparation was needed. It should be noted that the researchers, both experienced cross-cultural trainers, fully expected training to be the primary issue related to successful adjustment of Americans to China. Training played a far less important role in the experience of the expatriate than was anticipated. A common response to questions about the value of training prior to expatriation was, "Nothing can prepare you for China," followed often with a chuckle intimating a large gulf between cultures. Many interviewees doubted whether any form of preparation conducted outside the country could ready one for life in China. Some comments of subjects implied the opposite, that training could actually decrease the sense of urgency in attending to cultural differences. A positive effect of training was to bring expectations in line with reality, rather than to impart specific skills.

Discussion

Endogenous and exogenous factors emerged as a second order of categorization that includes the themes addressed above. Endogenous factors in adjustment describe those which originate within and are a function of the person, such as personality traits and motivation. Exogenous factors are those factors found in the environment external to the person, such as interpersonal support, work environment and circle of friendships. Exogenous factors also include training and prior international experience. This distinction between endogenous and exogenous factors may have implications for a more inclusive model of intercultural adjustment. This study gives more weight to endogenous factors. Antecedents of intercultural adjustment of Americans in China were found to be primarily characteristics of the individual expatriate, such as personality, mental models, expectations, attitudes, motivation, and knowledge rather than environmental or exogenous factors. Environmental factors such as prior training, prior overseas experience and social support can enhance effectiveness and even shore up weaknesses, but cannot replace basic personality characteristics..

Rather than put technically competent individuals into expensive training programs, this study suggests that psychological testing may be a more effective way to use resources. Rigid personalities with high expectations of themselves may be ill suited for work in China regardless of professional and technical expertise. The most illustrative example of the influence of personality traits on adaptation from this study was the case of a Chinese-American assigned to work in Beijing who did not successfully adapt to life in China because of her high expectations of herself, her job and what she supposed life in China would be like.

Recommendations for future research. With the growing importance of China as a trading partner, continued research on successful adaptation for the purpose of scholarly and commercial exchanges should be advocated. There should be continued emphasis on qualitative methods to generate descriptors and concepts related to cultural adaptation to China. Although Black and Gregerson's (1991) model did not include career and personal goals and this study did not originally focus on goals, in-depth interviews revealed their importance in the process of adaptation. A longer ethnographic study should be conducted with a similar population of American expatriates working in China both to develop additional factors influencing adaptation and to confirm or challenge the results of this study.

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Participation and Retention Factors Relating to Black Reentry Graduate and Undergraduate Women in the College of Education

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Abstract: This qualitative study, which focused on participation and retention factors, examined the educational experiences of nine reentry Black women who were students at a predominately White research university. The research centered on extracting common themes and on identifying factors that influenced or hindered their educational tenure.

Introduction: Adult women who return to college comprise the fastest growing segment of the college population. Since the 1970s women have been returning to college in record numbers. Statistics show these returning women represent 41% of all female college students (Touchton & Davis, 1991). They are different from the average student because of their age and needs. These students are important to the future of higher education and warrant study not only because of their potential economic importance but because higher education should be concerned with determining and answering the needs of this new population.

This group has been recognized as a gendered phenomena and its members have been designated "reentry" women. By definition, a reentry woman is someone who either interrupted her college education for a period of five or more years or a woman who delayed entering college directly after high school and is currently attending college (Lewis, 1988). This group is composed of women of different races and cultures. Yet, if conclusions are drawn from the literature it could be assumed that this group is composed of "generic learners" who are White and whose concerns are similar across the group.

However, such conclusions belie the large numbers of Black females who are included in the catch-all category of reentry students. According to Evangelauf (1992), Black females comprise the largest number of students of color at the graduate and undergraduate level. Their numbers are twice that of the other groups of color and from this data it can be extrapolated that Black women comprise the largest group of reentry students of color. Yet, only two studies have been identified on reentry women which have included Black women as respondents (Demos, 1979; Kaplan, 1982). Neither of these studies recognized or reported any differences between the White female and Black female respondents or even conjectured that differences may exist. Yet many articles and studies report that the experiences of women and Blacks in higher education are different from those of White males (Briscoe & Ross, 1989; Fleming, 1984; Hall & Sandler, 1982; Moses, 1989). These studies document the discrimination experienced by Blacks and women because of their race or gender. Yet little literature could be found to address how a group that includes by definition Blacks and women would be impacted by a double bias.

Reentry Black women's participation in higher education is not explicitly apparent from the literature. According to Bell-Scott (1984), research on Black women in higher education has been a subject that has been routinely ignored in education studies. Agreeing with her, Ihle (1986) and Johnson-Bailey, Tisdell and Cervero (1994) observe that it is difficult to know what is occurring with Black women in higher education because major government and educational studies report data by sex or race. These two categories are considered the major designated minorities and no studies cross reference the two data bases. In this dilemma lie the statistics on Black reentry females in higher education. It is indeed one of the flaws of the literature, that most studies have been done on middle age middle class White women (Caffarella & Olson, 1993). Caffarella and Olson (1993) found this to be particularly inappropriate as educators have begun to make "generalizations" about reentry women based on the available data. In response to this problem Cafferalla and Olson (1993) call for researchers to be less culturally confined when sampling.

Significance: The education literature does not document reentry Black women's learning experiences. A recent study (Johnson-Bailey, 1994) contributed to the educational theory and praxis by offering research specific to a particular group of learners, Black women, and thus assaulting the myth of the "generic learner." The study demonstrated that the marginality of Black women sets them forth as a group whose experiences are inclusive of many types of students because of the unique position of Black women as the embodiment of race, gender, class, and color issues. Black women were therefore seen to be an invaluable research measure. The research further indicated how classroom hierarchies and the hidden and covert curriculum affected the educational tenures of reentry Black women. Finally, the study was significant because the research methodology of narrative analysis empowered the Black women to speak for themselves (Bell-Scott, 1994; Collins, 1990).

Whereas the previous research focused on Black reentry women identifying how the emerging themes of race, gender, class, and color impacted the schooling narratives of the respondents, this current research focused on participation and retention issues. This research identified factors that contributed to successful educational tenures. Issues such as situational, psychological, and institutional barriers that are reported in the literature as routinely hindering reentry students were examined (Pitts, 1992; Safman, 1988; Tittle & Denker, 1980).

Theoretical Framework: This study used Black feminist thought as its theoretical framework with its theories and extensive body of writings (Collins, 1989, 1990; Davis, 1981; Giddings, 1984; hooks, 1984, 1989; Hull, Bell-Scott, & Smith, 1982; James & Busia, 1993; Lorde, 1984; Wallace, 1978) which posit that Black women have a collective consciousness that is based on the experience of living in a hierarchial society built on race, gender, and class. The resulting epistemology encourages the use of personal experience as a criterion with which to dialogue and judge knowledge (Collins, 1989).

Methodology: This was a qualitative study which used narrative analysis as the specific methodological instrument (Denzin, 1989; Etter-Lewis, 1993; Riessman, 1993). A semi-structured interview format and an interview guide were used to direct data gathering (Bodgan & Biklen, 1982). The respondents were interviewed, the tape recorded interviews were transcribed, and the resulting data were analyzed as text. The women were assigned pseudonyms. The sample consisted of nine Black women who were either attending or had recently matriculated from the College of Education: 1) three had obtained undergraduate degrees; 2) two were pursuing and three had obtained master's degrees; 3) one was pursuing and two had obtained specialist's degrees; and 4) three were pursuing and one had obtained doctor of education degrees. The sample seems to exceed nine respondents because several of the women obtained multiple degrees from the College of Education. Four departments within the College of Education were represented by this purposeful sampling. The women fit the traditional definition of reentry women (Lewis, 1988) in that they interrupted their college education for several years, delayed entering college directly after high school, or were over thirty years of age.

Results: An analysis of the data revealed that three major issues affected the participation of the Black reentry women studied: 1) the accessibility and encouragement of the department's graduate coordinator; 2) the recruitment to the program by students who had participated in the program; and 3) the encouragement of mentors (usually high school guidance counselors or college career counselors who were familiar with the program and who were also Black). Further examination disclosed that four issues affected retention: 1) the presence of and mentoring by Black professors and staff; 2) the presence of and networking by Black peers; 3) respect from the department's professoriate, and 4) the availability of continued funding.

A detailed examination of the participation issues showed striking similarities between the respondents' experiences. Two of the women related incidents where they approached graduate coordinators in other Colleges at the University who actively discouraged their application to graduate school. One was told that she was not graduate school material and the other was told that she was not a serious student since she only wanted to attend part time. Both women delayed their reentry for years, one for two years and the other for 18 years. They both had successful reentry tenures.

Five of the women stated that it was the friendliness and encouragement of the graduate coordinators in the College of Education that helped them complete the difficult and intimidating process of applying to graduate school. With the exception of one respondent, all described a tentativeness about applying to the University because of stories that they had heard regarding the inherent unfairness towards Black students.

Four of the respondents were recruited to their various programs by other students, two by White students and two by Black students. The difference in the recruiting experiences was that the Black students warned of campus racism but still judged the academic experience as excellent and the task as achievable. Two other women were encouraged to attend by their mentors. The remaining women made application based on the academic reputations of the programs.

An analysis of the data regarding retention revealed that throughout their programs the participants struggled with feelings of isolation and self-doubt that were particularly apparent in classroom interactions. A few professors referred to them as either "exceptions" to their race in terms of intelligence and performance or as possible affirmative action admissions. One woman remembered being told that if she wished to be successful in graduate school she should find an editor because her grammar while understandably inferior was not acceptable. She was told on another occasion that, "You talk White but you write Black."

A major difference for all of the participants was the presence of Black professors, particularly Black women professors. All the students used similar wording such as "having someone around who looks like me." Eight of the women reported being mentored by Black women professors and receiving information from the network established by other Black students (especially Black graduate assistants). It was their opinion that the information given to them would not have been obtained from other sources. This was particularly relevant when applying for and receiving graduate assistantships and financial aid. While four of the respondents had graduate assistantships, none of them received them their first year and they only made application after receiving information and support from the previously referenced sources.

All of the respondents spoke of the importance of professors that were accepting of student diversity and of professors who respected their contributions. Accordingly, it was these professors (a small number in most of the departments studied), who helped the students continue their programs. Their classrooms were described as "havens" and "respites."

Conclusions/Implications: Overall the study revealed that the barriers that usually affect reentry women's participation, such as child care, class scheduling, lack of family support, financial difficulties, and past school failures were not mentioned by these women as concerns. The main factors that attributed to their participation were accepting environments (which included helpful and positive graduate school coordinators), recruitment by other students, and encouragement by mentors familiar with the department's program and atmosphere. These findings are inconsistent with the existing literature on the generic reentry student (Cross, 1981; Lewis, 1988; Tittle & Denker, 1980).

Additionally, the most important factors affecting the retention of Black students were the presence and mentoring of

Black faculty and staff, the presence of Black peers and the resulting network, the positive attitude of some department faculty, and the location of new sources of funding. These findings agree with the existing literature (Adams, 1992; Bowser, Auletta & Jones, 1993; Daloz, 1986; Hill, 1972; Johnson Bailey, Tisdell, & Cervero, 1994; Steele, 1991).

The study implicates that future research on participation and retention issues should not consider students as a homogeneous group. There is no generic adult student. Factors of gender and race, as well as other significant markers, should be considered when conducting research on adult populations. The study also indicated the importance of faculty diversity and the importance of the graduate coordinator or other admissions officials being aware of cultural norms and ques. In addition, consideration should not only be given to managing classroom dynamics but also to monitoring student networks and interactions since negative classroom interactions were sighted as a major reason for low retention rates.

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*** Additional references will be available at the presentation.***

Factors that Affect the Epistemology of Group Learning: A Research-Based Analysis

Victoria Marsick and Elizabeth Kasl

Abstract: This examination of factors that affect group learning is a first step toward developing a pedagogy of group learning, in contrast to individual learning.

Purpose

There is a growing recognition in our society that the complex challenges created by an increasingly interdependent world are more effectively met by creative teams or groups of people than by individuals working alone. This society's long tradition of valuing individualism creates habits of mind that make it difficult to learn how to work and learn collaboratively. We note that our current theories about learning construe the learner to be an individual person, and contend that a theory and practice of group learning could contribute significantly to our capacity to reenvision learning for today's world. Adult educators have long based their practice on the belief that individual learning is supported by group participation, but they have not conceptualized the group itself as a learner (Imel, 1996).

We call for a pedagogy of group learning. The purpose of this paper is to work toward an epistemology of group learning on which such a pedagogy might be based. By epistemology, we mean a description of the fundamental relationship between the knower and the known (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Heron, 1996). Thus, we ask "How does a group as a knowing system come to know what it knows?"

Method

In this paper we report our findings when we examined published case studies of groups involved in the process of group learning. The term "group learning" is often used in the literature to refer to the phenomenon of individual learning that is supported by a group. Although important, this phenomenon was not our focus as we scanned the literature for descriptions of group learning. The definition that guided our search is that group learning is indicated when all members perceive themselves as having contributed to a group outcome, and all members of the group can individually explain what the group as a system knows.

Many of the reports we read were created for purposes other than our own, so we were dependent on the richness of the author(s)' descriptions of the group's context and learning strategies. When the author(s) favored interpretation or conceptual analysis over description, we were less able to interrogate the research report for answers to our own questions. We perceive our review to be only a tentative beginning in the creation of an epistemology for group learning and a preliminary step in describing an agenda for further research.

The nineteen case studies on which our analysis is based come from reports of groups learning is three different contexts: Seven describe teams learning in the workplace where the team has been vested with a management or problem-solving task (Brooks, 1994; Gavan, 1996; John, 1995; Kasl, Marsick & Dechant, in press; Lynn, 1995; Lynn, Morone, & Paulson, 1996; Marsick, 1990). Two describe the learning experienced by research teams, one a team of community-based women (Whitmore, 1994) and the other a report of our own experience as academy-based researchers (Kasl, Dechant, & Marsick, 1993). Ten describe the learning experienced by cooperative or collaborative inquiry groups (Bray, 1995; De Venney-Tiernan et.al., 1994; Gerdau, 1995; Reason, 1988; Smith, 1995; thINQ, in press; Traylen, 1994; Treleaven, 1994; Yorks, 1995; Zelman, 1995). Group size ranged from 3 to 20. With the exception of four groups, members were typically upper-middle-class professionals and were more often white than of color. There are three cases from Great Britain, one from Australia, one from Canada, and fourteen from the United States.

Derived from our own and others' work, we began with a set of analytic categories. To examine group learning strategies, we searched for information about multiple ways of knowing or holistic modes of engagement, and for descriptions of action and reflection. We looked systematically at the contextual variables of group purpose, formation and composition, the larger system in which the group is embedded, role and process of facilitation, time frame within which the group operated, and the group's learning outcomes. In addition to our initial analytic categories, we tried to be alert to other information, in particular to insights into the phenomenological experience of group learning which we imagined might include such themes as empowerment or relationship of individual ego and group identity.

Findings

Group Purpose, Formation, and Setting. Our cases illustrate important differences associated with contextual variables of purpose, formation, and setting which contrast the ten cooperative/collaborative inquiry cases with the seven workplace studies. The workplace cases describe intact organizational work teams, cross-functional groups, or special purpose groups created to develop new products. Although seven of the ten inquiry groups were convened in a workplace setting, group formation and purpose are different from the workplace cases. In cooperative/collaborative inquiry, group members are invited to participate and participation is voluntary; often the initiator is a peer. The norms of inquiry groups (Heron, 1996; Reason, 1994; thINQ, in press) demand functional equality among participants and define the group's purpose as a learning endeavor. Thus, even though many of these groups were formed in a workplace context, their purposes differ significantly from the groups described in the seven studies of workplace teams. These latter groups are assigned a purpose by the larger organization in service of organizational needs; inquiry groups are composed of persons who define for themselves what the group's learning task will be and the purpose is primarily individual skill-building, personal development, or pursuit of a personal curiosity, albeit that the increased capacities often also serve the larger organization.

In our group of nineteen case studies, there is a confounding between setting and group purpose: Six of the workplace cases but none of the inquiry groups are in product-oriented, corporate settings. Only one of the workplace groups and all of the inquiry groups are in service-oriented contexts, associated either with education or health care.

We turn to a discussion of learning strategies. In our limited space, we focus only on the findings that are most directly related to the epistemology of group learning.

Action/Reflection. Most of our cases provide rich description of action/reflection cycles, although in three cases the rhythm of the action/reflection is different from what the group initiator anticipated. In these cases, groups stayed in a prolonged period of action before reflecting on what could be learned from their actions. Two of these (Smith, 1995; Traylen, 1994) were composed of community women for whom reflection was less comfortable than action; the third was a group of university faculty and administrators whose project began as a cooperative inquiry but soon evolved more into the shape of action research (Yorks, 1995). Cases that did not show much reflection describe workplace teams (Gavan, 1996; John, 1995).

Finding Meaning, Not Making It. Various strategies for taking a group outside analytic modes of knowing stimulated group learning. Some established norms of story-telling (Smith, 1995; Treleaven, 1994), some created experiential exercises (Marsick, 1990; Reason, 1988; Zelman, 1995) or captured their learning through art and metaphor (Bray, 1995; Gerdau, 1995). In other cases, groups discovered that important insights grew from getting "off task," that is, engaging in associational thinking that on the surface seemed not to be moving their agendas forward (Kasl, Dechant & Marsick, 1993; Kasl, Marsick & Dechant, in press; Marsick, 1990).

Going Public. With the two evaluation teams and a few inquiry group cases, preparing to share the group's knowledge with an audience outside the group was a catalyst for learning. The process of preparing interim oral reports for outside funding agents consolidated learning for two groups of community women. Experiencing respectful appreciation from their audiences precipitated in the women new respect for the importance of their work as well as growing self confidence (Smith, 1995; Whitmore, 1994). When groups prepared written reports, the process of reflecting on written words uncovered differences in perspectives that had not before been visible, and served as an impetus for further learning. (De Venney-Tiernan et.al., 1994; Kasl, Dechant, & Marsick, 1993; thINQ, in press; Whitmore, 1994). Workplace teams experienced the preparation of reports for managers or clients as an impetus for learning. In all cases, the act of going public was associated with a deadline, and therefore forced the group into an accelerated process of confirming the knowledge it had been creating.

Embracing Difference, Learning from Conflict. All groups faced the inevitable challenges created by interpersonal conflict and individual differences. One group of community women who had been working together for some time without being able to communicate across ethnic and racial differences found that the context of collaborative inquiry helped them discuss the effect of these differences on their relationships, and then to bridge them (Smith; 1995). Another group struggled to cross the deep divide of class (Whitmore, 1994). Several groups had a pivotal incident in their development in which the resolution of a deep interpersonal difference catalyzed the group toward new levels of learning (Bray, 1995; Kasl, Marsick & Dechant, in press; Marsick, 1990; Yorks, 1995) or inhibited further learning (Brooks, 1994; Gavan, 1996).

Discussion

The distinction between learning and task in relation to group purpose is paramount. Groups formed primarily for the purpose of inquiry are more able to implement some of the learning strategies that facilitate group learning. When groups perceive themselves to be created to address a particular task, the pressure of task accomplishment makes group learning difficult.

Theory on the learning organization suggests that innovation emerges when a group can suspend the pressure for immediate resolution of a particular issue in favor of a freer, exploratory process characterized by "dialogue" and openness. Research reports suggest that this is difficult to do: Groups perceive that their managers are more interested in timely results than in generative ideas (Brooks, 1994; John, 1995); the nature of the problem itself channels members into routinized ways of thinking that hamper out-of-the-box thinking (Gavan, 1996); group members may find it difficult to step outside of a results orientation long enough to learn outside of existing frames of reference, even if they are told that they can do so (Marsick, 1990). Workplace learning is understood primarily as a means to develop employees so that they can work more effectively in the future, or in order to produce a more innovative solution to a challenge that cannot easily be addressed by individuals who work on their own. To the often-cited tension described in the group dynamics literature between task and process is added the tension of valuing learning for its own sake versus enhanced productivity.

This tension between learning and output is highly evident in the way in which time is experienced by the group. We suggest that group learning is enhanced when groups learn to reconceptualize time as a resource because they can then: generate ideas for which relevance is not immediately apparent; cycle back and forth between action and reflection, taking time to develop skillfulness with reflection; and create a context for shared history that leads to new ways of thinking, feeling, or acting. Research reports support our hypothesis, but also suggest that groups experience difficulty in reconceptualizing time in this way if members perceive their focus primarily as getting the job done, and if nothing is done to assist members to think about time differently.

Cranton (1996) has distinguished three kinds of group learning--cooperative, collaborative, and transformative; she equates cooperative learning with instrumental learning and task accomplishment. We observe that even when the inquiry groups in our sample convened for purposes of creating instrumental learning, they still defined themselves as focussed on inquiry, not task accomplishment. The distinctions seem critical and should be further explored.

We speculate that when participation is voluntary, it is more likely that group members come to the table in a spirit of openness that enables them to listen well to others' points of view and to question their own frames of reference in a nondefensive way. In our study, voluntariness is confounded with setting. We suggest further research--that studies be conducted in workplace settings when participation is voluntary, and inquiry group settings when participation is required.

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RADICAL PEDAGOGY IN ACTION:
A Case Study of a Chicano/a Autobiography Class

Jodi Jan Kaufmann

Abstract: This ethnographic case study explored, from the perspective of the participants, the instructional experience in an adult higher education ethnic literature course taught through the lens of radical pedagogy.

A re-evaluation of our current value system is prevalent. As this process influences the field of education, pedagogical questions abound: What is knowledge? Whose voice is being heard? What is the role of authority? How is learning best facilitated? In order to contribute to these discourses, it is the purpose of this study to explore, from the perspectives of the participants, the instructional experience in a higher education ethnic literature course taught through the lens of radical pedagogy.

RELATED LITERATURE

In response to the continual unveiling of social disparities, radical pedagogy has burgeoned forth. As the term is used herein, this pedagogical theory contains the distinct but overlapping strands of critical pedagogy, feminist pedagogy and some of the more radical strands of multicultural education. Aiming at producing a pedagogy of liberation, critical pedagogy focuses on educating the subject to think, reflect, and to act in order to create a more democratic, egalitarian society. Although influences of poststructural thought have become increasingly evident in the more recent discourses surrounding critical pedagogy (Giroux & McLaren, 1994; Mohanty, 1994; Simon, 1992), the primary underpinnings of these literatures have remained rooted in structuralism – as seen in their emphasis on rationality, their universal assumptions in relation to enlightenment, and their construction of unified subjectivities. Feminist pedagogy, varying in theory and practice according to the model of feminist theory by which it is informed, has traditionally focused on the construction of relational knowledge, coming to voice, dealing with difference and the dichotomies of authority (Tisdell, 1995). As poststructural thought has seeped into these discourses, the multiple dimensionality of truth, positionality and difference have been forefronted. Thus, while keeping gender central to its analysis, postructural feminist pedagogy calls for a practice founded upon the epistemological standpoint that knowledge is created between the multiple positions of ourselves and others (Tisdell, 1995). Multicultural education is primarily concerned with equity and diversity. Although the practices attributed to this pedagogy are as diverse as its theoretical underpinnings, the more radical strands advocate calling into question what remains centered and marginalized in the curriculum (Hayes and Collins, 1991) and the explicit deconstruction of discourses of power (Sleeter & McLaren, 1994).

While there is a plethora of literature surrounding radical pedagogy and adult higher education, the majority of these pieces have been theoretical and/or reflective in nature (Brookfield, 1995; Hayes & Colins, 1994; hooks, 1994; Shor, 1992; Welton, 1995). There is, however, a paucity of data-based studies (Shor, 1996). This study is an attempt to fill this void.

METHODOLOGY

An ethnographic case study was chosen for this research project. In its theoretical framework and underpinnings this study was critical in construction; however, in that no concrete action was taken to effectuate change it was interpretive in nature. The class chosen for this study, "Chicanos/as Themselves: The Autobiographical Narrative" was taught by a Chicano in his late forties at a major university in the Northwest. This course was composed of 26 students from incommensurate positionalities – seven women of color, nine men of color, nine white females and one white male. The selection of this class was based on the criterion that the theoretical and practical framework of the instructor be founded in critical pedagogy. The primary means of data collection were that of audio-taped participant observations of the class and the Borderlands group, an on-going small study group whose task it was to meet bi-weekly with the ultimate goal of presenting the autobiographical text Borderlands/La Frontera:The New Mestiza (Anzaldua, 1987). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the instructor, the five members of the Borderlands group, and four other students chosen for the disparate localities they appeared to locate. Documents were also analyzed. Data were analyzed throughout this study using the constant comparative method. To increase validity and reliability, the techniques of triangulation of data methods, long term observations, as well as member checks with some of the participants of this study were employed (Lather, 1991).

FINDINGS

Multiple and interconnecting strands were observed while exploring, from the perspective of the participants, the instructional experience of "Chicano/a Autobiography: The Autobiographical Narrative." The instructor of this course was the son of Mexican immigrant laborers. Often teaching out of his own history, Dr. Gonzales (all names used in this study are pseudonyms) grounded himself in Freirean pedagogy and positioned himself as a social constructivist. Through multiple ways of teaching and learning, Dr. Gonzales implemented both a teacher and student centered pedagogy. Within this context, the classroom experience consisted of teacher lecture, teacher-led class discussion, student-led small group dialogical sessions, and membership in an on-going small study group that met throughout the term. As the participants interacted in this context, the following findings emerged: 1) Dialogue: Dominance, Silence and Patterns 2) The Importance of the On-going Small Study Group, and 3) Limitations and Possibilities of Student-Led Dialogical Sessions.

Dialogue: Dominance, Silence and Patterns

Dialogue was often centered within this class; however, as within the adult higher education literature, what constituted dialogue (personal experience, theoretical knowledge, etc.) and/or how knowledge was to be constructed through this process was not discussed. During the dialogical sessions in this course, several students could be identified as dominant speakers in terms of the number of utterances made during discussions. These students appeared to remain dominant in every context – whole class teacher-led discussions, small group student-led discussions, and in the on-going small study groups. This tendency for the conversations to be dominated by a few was commented on by Richard, a nineteen year old Anglo/Chicano, "The same people are the one's who get their opinion out their all the time, so you get only one perspective." However, within alternate dialogical contexts, others also emerged as dominant speakers. This indicated that the size of the group and/or the context of the discussions influenced who spoke.

Several students spoke about the relationship between their cultural backgrounds and their participation in dialogical sessions. According to Melinda, a twenty-two year old Filipina, "Sometimes it is too personal and you were taught not to talk about personal things." The style of communication was also mentioned as a factor which inhibited many students of color from participating in discussions. As Martin, a thirty-two year old Chicano remarked, "They are used to cutting in, overlapping, and talking over people from their up-bringing. Where I was taught to be kinda quiet and allow a person to finish." Being silenced by a white member of the class and/or a member of the class who could "pass" was also noted by several students of color. According to Josey, a twenty-six year old Chicana, "I think it is really easier to be questioned by a Chicana than by a white girl, and when the whites challenge it really silences the Chicano/a." Several means of silencing were employed by white females in this context. These methods included dismissing a student of color's dialogical contribution and/or immediately accepting a statement of personal experience by a person of color, followed by "me too" and an elaboration of their own experience. In attempting to resist these silencing techniques, several students of color spoke of either becoming "aggressive and pushy" and/or "just giving up." Neither of the white females interviewed in this study viewed silence as component of this course. According to Mary Lou, a middle-aged, white female, "Everyone felt really supported in this class, as far as speaking. Probably the kids who didn't speak, wouldn't speak under any circumstances." These views were juxtaposed by many of the students of color who felt silencing was a factor in this course. Furthermore, many students of color mentioned a desire to interrogate issues at more in-depth levels. This frustration was not noted by either of the white females interviewed. As the above indicates, there appears to be cultural factors in relation to the phenomena and perception of speech and silence.

Patterns were also observed in the construction of dialogue. The pattern to follow the leader of any dialogical session was apparent. Participants in whole class teacher-led discussions inevitably addressed their comments directly to the instructor. This pattern was also noticed as participants in small student-led discussions directed their responses toward the most dominant facilitator. Additionally, the construction of dialogue itself appeared to follow an identifiable pattern. There appeared to be five main types of dialogical contributions – questions, personal experience, opinion, bringing in other resources or knowledge, statements of truth. Following the type of dialogical contribution preceding it, a single type of dialogical contribution would continue for between four and twelve separate utterances before a different type of response was interjected. Once an alternate type of response was inserted into the conversation, a new pattern would emerge and again continue for the same duration. As dialogue was observed within this context, it became evident that without intervention dialogue exhibited its own configuration.

The Importance of the On-Going Small Study Group

The Borderlands group, the on-going small study group that met throughout the term, was composed of five members – two Chicanas, a Chicano, a Filipina and a Anglo/Mexican male. This group experience appeared to provide the context for its members to develop a sense of group solidarity. This was evident as the members were observed gathering before and after class, calling each other on the phone, and engaging in occasional group hugs. This context also provided the space for these students to construct knowledge at more in-depth levels through dialogue. These discussions often provided a sense of disequilibrium as well as support for some of the members as they discussed their identity, gender and culture.

Limitations and Possibilities of Student-Led Dialogical Sessions

The knowledge constructed during student-led small group discussions was commensurate with the knowledge and experience of the group's members. In other words, it appeared that a group could only go where at lest one of its members had been before. Thus, a participant possessing oppositional knowledge and/or experience was often able to facilitate the deconstruction of ideologies held by other group members; however, when no participant possessed this location, much time was spent discussing issues at a superficial level and/or being "bored." Additionally, those issues which were not dealt with in class or only received superficial mention continued to be resisted in student dialogues. Although many issues appeared to received mention without interrogation, no issue was resisted as strongly as that of sexual-orientation. Eventhough two of the five autobiographies read in this class were written by homosexuals (Gloria Anzaldua and Richard Rodriguez), this topic was primarily ignored. When sexual-orientation was raised, it was strongly resisted by the participants. This resistance is evident in Melinda's response to Borderlands: La Frontera, "I say darm, you have to look at it from a perspective of a lesbian, and I can't think like that. I can't read it."

DISCUSSION

In light of these findings, several implication to the theory and practice of radical pedagogy in adult education may be observed. Within the context of this course, one's views appeared to be directly influenced by one's location. This was especially noted in relation to speech and silence. While many students of color understood silence as a factor in their experience during this course, both white females interviewed perceived all participants as feeling free to speak. Furthermore, all of the students of color who self identified as coming from working-class backgrounds, articulated their fear that they may have silenced others. This was not mentioned by the students of color from middle-class backgrounds. These students did mention the phenomena of being silenced, yet did not speak of their role in the process. The white students, on the other hand, as they did not mention silence as a factor in this class, did not acknowledge their role in the process. Thus, it appeared that not only race, but class affected the perceptions of these students. Positionality also appeared to affect the depth of analysis one desired. Although many students of color mentioned wanting more interrogation into the issues discussed, neither of the white students interviewed expressed this desire. This yearning was mentioned by students of color from both working-class and middle-class backgrounds.

Secondly, as dialogue is a central feature of radical pedagogy, it appeared that the skill to participate in a conversation specifically focused at constructing knowledge may need to be taught. It is noted that explicitly teaching students how to dialogue is problematic, as it implies the notion that there is an ideal dialogical construction, thus positioning dialogue as an essentialist notion. Yet, I still find myself, at this moment, believing that dialogue which interrogates the textural and the personal while problematizing the voices that create the discussion (Ellsworth, 1992) is more inclined to facilitate the construction of in-depth knowledge and disrupt the hegemony than a conversation, left untouched, which emerges in its own organic form. Furthermore, it may prove advantageous to provide deeper interrogation into what is said and by whom (Giroux, 1994). As it appeared that many of the white students were unaware of their dialogical patterns which silenced other students, perhaps directly addressing these concerns could increase the benefits of this process. Additionally, an instructor's use of authority to control who speaks and how often may ease the tensions surrounding the issue of dialogue being dominated by a few. It also appeared that if it is desired for the students to delve into a topic, this issue must first be dealt with by the instructor. And finally, making available a variety of dialogical contexts appeared to increase the number of students who are able to participate in this process.

Although group work is often suggested within radical pedagogy, this practice appeared to have both it limitations and its possibilities. In practice, an on-going small group was needed to create the space for both solidarity and in-depth discussions. However, it was also noticed that students needed support within both group contexts (on-going small study group and student-led dialogical sessions) for dealing with issues. Although this may prove problematic, for any outside influence interferes with the group process, lack of support left the students unable to deal with those issues which they did not have the framework or experience to handle.

And finally, it became evident that all three strands of radical pedagogy were essential to the instructional experience in this context. Components of critical pedagogy were accessed as this course was set within the framework of a participatory, dialectical, and dialogical practice (Freire, 1970; Shor, 1992). Aspects of feminist pedagogy were observed as dialogue went beyond the public and the rational to include the personal and the subjective. Additionally, influences of feminist pedagogy were visible as the tendency to measure truth against one norm was reduced by forefronting that knowledge is a social construction produced in the interactions between multiple positions (Lather, 1991; Sheared, 1994). And finally, some of the more radical strands of multicultural education were apparent as marginal discourses were centered (Giroux & McLaren, 1994; Mohanty, 1994; Sheared, 1994).

Although the findings of this study are limited, their implications indicate that further research and practice within the field of radical pedagogy may continue to lead us toward a more equitable pedagogy.

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A Researcher and Activist in the Mexican Borderlands

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Abstract: Dual roles of activist and researcher in a collective social movement highlight conflicting research needs for objectivity and subjectivity that may be reconciled through self-conscious critique. This was demonstrated during a study of a collective workers' rights movement on the U.S.-Mexico border in 1996.

John[1] drove the rental car while Maria pointed out sights that might interest us. In the back, I sat on the hump between two labor union activists: one American and one Canadian. Maria spoke Spanish, and John attempted to maneuver the busy Juarez streets and translate at the same time. "There are many labor attorneys' offices on this street, she's saying." Maria pointed and John made his way over to the left. "They set up their offices near the factories so the workers will have easy access" (tr).[2]

We drove past a deserted gate house onto a wide avenue. The median strip was grassy and planted with trees and shrubs. There were landscaped gardens on either side of the road, in front of clean and modern looking buildings. "This is an industrial park where many of us work" (tr). Most buildings had high fences around them, some with barbed wire at the top.

Beyond a stoplight, we continued another block up a hill and turned onto a narrow packed dirt road with small concrete and makeshift wooden structures crowded together on either side of the road. "They build the factories near the colonias (neighborhoods) to have access to available workers. Sometimes, they build them right on top of the colonias and people have to move" (tr).

We met other visitors in front of a concrete house with pieces of wood and rusted metal in piles around the dirt yard. John entered the house while we gathered on the road. Some of the Americans took out their cameras while the rest of us stared at the ground uncomfortably. John eventually motioned for us to join him at the door. Behind him stood Irma, the occupant of the house.

I was one of the first people to enter Irma's home. It was a four-room concrete structure with no glass in the windows nor door in the doorway. The walls had been painted several times before, but the paint had all but chipped away. There were exposed wood beams on the ceiling and a dusty concrete floor. As I stepped tentatively over the door sill, John moved aside and Irma came forward to embrace me, smiling widely. "Bueno!" I continued into the kitchen to make room for the rest of our party. As Irma welcomed the next visitor, I smiled at Jolanda, a neighbor of Irma's. Jolanda shyly smiled back.

The kitchen contained a jagged wooden table with two rusted and splintered folding chairs. The weathered cupboards displayed a motley array of plastic and glass jars, cups, and plates. There was a stand-alone gas stove in the corner of the kitchen. There was no sink, because Irma's home had no running water.

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[1] All names of people and organizations have been changed to protect anonymity.

[2] The abbreviation (tr) means the speaker's words were translated from Spanish to English, usually by a third party interpreter.

When we were gathered inside, John said, "Now you may ask Irma questions." There was a silence broken only by the click and whir of a camera, during which I watched and waited for the lengthening ash on another visitor's cigarette to break and fall to the floor. Irma smiled encouragingly and some of us began to relax. She told us she had worked in the factories in Juarez for twelve years. She liked living in the colonia because of the community that had developed among her neighbors. We also shared stories about ourselves and our homes.

As we prepared to leave, I hugged the two women. Jolanda told me privately that she would have invited us to her home, but she had only one small room in which she and her four children lived. "I came with my children from the South four years ago, with only the shirts on our backs. I didn't know anything. People here helped me a lot. If you return, I would like you to visit my home" (tr).

Giroux, Shumway, Smith, and Sosnoski (1985) wrote, "The intellectual is more than a person of letters, or a producer and transmitter of ideas. Intellectuals are also mediators, legitimators, and producers of ideas and practices; they perform a function eminently political in nature" (p. 478). They proposed that researchers should be "resisting intellectuals" who must:

> "..engage in projects which encourage them to address their own critical role in the production and legitimation of social relations. Such projects are necessary not only to fight against conservative intellectuals and the multiple contexts in which legitimation processes occur, but also to broaden the theoretical and political movements outside the university." (p. 480).

If one engages in activist research that falls outside reward systems that protect and perpetuate the status quo, the question becomes how *best* to engage in this research. The researcher's role is complicated, as I discovered during the study. I observed two dimensions that determined my own position as an actor in the research project: my actions and the participants' expectations. As I began to interact with the activists, they frequently commented on their perceptions about the practices and role of academicians in general. I felt I needed to maintain at least some objectivity, but I also needed to understand the worker's native view. In developing empathy, I felt the urgency of participants' demands from the system to which I, too, belonged. Ultimately, I was stymied by questions like: "What am I doing here, anyway?" and "Who do I think I am?"

Participatory research is one critical research method in which both researchers and participants take active roles in the design and implementation of the project (Sohng, 1995). It is informed by the experiences and needs of the participants, promotes empowerment through the development of a true consciousness about the dominant ideological system, and recognizes that action without critical reflection may be disastrous while theory without collective social action is meaningless idealism (Freire, 1974).

If we view participatory research projects positioned somewhere between those that contain little opportunity for system members to participate in design and implementation and those that are conducted with participants fully engaged in the effort, we find a researcher's role also falling into place along a spectrum between two roles that I term as "Know-it-all" and "Peer Participant." Know-it-all researchers encourage little input from participants, while Peer Participant researchers encourage and facilitate full project involvement from participants.

Know-it-alls may view reality through a filter constructed of their own experiences. For example, some North Americans enter border activism without understanding the minds of Mexican workers regarding working conditions.

> ...They hear about the maquilas[3] and they think that that's the only thing that's going on in the border area...And they're so focused on that; they have such a concept of what it is...yet when you go into Mexico you realize that...the maquiladores are not necessarily this great exploiter in the first way that the Mexican might think of it.

North American researchers may impose their cultural orientation to material wealth as a symbol of individual capability. Lynn, an American labor union activist, said, "Sometimes it's real easy for people on this side (of the border) to say, 'How can those people live in those conditions?' " Albert, an Hispanic-American labor leader, also cautioned, "You can't go into the situation with (the) kind of attitude that you're just helping the poor people."

> There's always that tendency – I talked about the colonias and how even though I consider them disgusting and rundown – people that live in them are very proud of what they've been able to accomplish. I mean, they build homes out of practically nothing -- a couple of cement blocks, cardboard -- and they're very proud of the fact that they have a home...

A particular brand of Know-it-all is the Protagonista. Protagonistas are so enthusiastic about correcting social ills that they become the focus of their activism, rather than attending to those they are trying to help. "To protagonize means you want to...be the person that is the hero of the story. And that's...I think that's a danger of organizers anywhere. It doesn't have to be cross-border organizers, there's a temptation to want to do that in many situations."

Researchers may become so enamored with themselves and their research that they tend to highlight their own role in the collective social movement. For example, an American researcher described his efforts to a group of Mexican workers: "*I* spoke, *I* presented, *me*, *my* mouth, to (a large corporation) and presented a request for them to do a...study... I did the presentation (at the meeting), I was *great* (emphasis added)!"

We must understand that participants are the ones who know their own lives best and can be a great resource, not only in providing information, but in bringing to light the most interesting problems and the most feasible approaches to those problems. "Worker input is crucial. Workers need to know their roles and feel comfortable. They will bring the issues that rise to the top."

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[3] "Maquila" and "Maquiladora" are terms for foreign-owned assembly factories in Mexico.

A more positive role for the researcher is Peer Participant. This person encourages participation in the design and implementation of the project. Most Mexican activists and workers voiced a desire for researchers and organizers to include workers in decision-making processes ("We must correct ourselves.").

As opposed to playing the Know-It-All role, researchers and activists should "try to do the kind of organization that's really empowering, that's not just coming in to say 'we have all these answers, you should do this...'" Angela, a worker in Ciudad Acuña, expressed her interest in self-determination, "I think that (we) are (all) really concerned with transforming the systems in which we exist" (tr).

Participants want to be included in the research design; at a minimum they want to understand why the research is being done. Paco, a Mexican-American activist, asked a researcher about an economic study:

> Would it be important to know some of those things that affect the pricing? Besides the lack of justice?...(M)aybe the common people would like to learn that...Because I think that if I was gonna (help with the study), I'd want to know why ...I think it's important for people to say "I don't have a job." But it's more important for people to say "*Why* I don't have a job. Why is it?"

At the heart of the Peer Participant role is a respect for people:

> I think that... anybody who's ever been successful has only been successful if they've had a respect for the basic dignity of people and realize there's a lot of people out there who live in what we would consider inhuman conditions but that's what they've had to deal with and they make the best of it that they know how, and provided that we can help them get information...We can help empower them. They can then take up their own fight. And, you know, they know how to do that best.

Researchers who actively engage in the role of Peer Participant recognize that the work they do is not about *them*, but about the communities and individuals among whom they have the privilege to work. They act strategically, yet self-consciously, and with a measure of humility. "They're not about credit, you know, they just do the work..."

The researcher's role is not always fully self-determined. Participants' expectations can also impact the researcher's identity and effectiveness. Activists discussed researchers who were "Political Tourists" who came to look but did not contribute to participants' immediate well-being. "Even though one has experienced empowering cognitive and behavioral changes, it is difficult to argue that one is empowered as long as those personal and interpersonal changes have no impact on socially unjust situations which affect one's life" (Breton, 1994, p. 31).

Mexicans are sensitive to American observers in part because "many times Mexicans' only contacts with the gringos are at the bridge or at tourist sites..."

Additionally, more than one participant pointed out that cross-border organizing activities have become fashionable, in a sense.

> It's like the in thing to do, go down there, visit the colonias and go home and talk about how terrible it is. And that's it. ... They're (just) political tourists and they come down and they look...They go back to their homes and their comfortable lifestyle and they forget about it.

The expectation that researchers on the border are Political Tourists may influence their role and effectiveness in the social movement. Activists who have previously had a negative experience with researchers may be less inclined to cooperate. Researchers who address these concerns by assuming a defensive Know-it-all role may be less effective in generating mutual understandings. On the other hand, researchers who assume an exaggerated role of Peer Participant, guiltily stumbling along, may be unable to make strategic project decisions.

There is also an expectation among activists on the border that researchers will be "Legitimators" who bring credible information and lend credibility to the movement simply because they are academics. Studies were frequently quoted to illustrate and prove various assertions. "A questionnaire is a tool that can help us to orient and understand the tendencies that exist. It helps us to reflect" (tr).

Knowledge generated in research studies is used for conscientización of workers and activists. Conscientización is most closely translated as critical consciousness raising: raising people's awareness of oppressive relationships that exist in their lives. The Mexican activists and workers frequently analyzed complex situations where oppressive conditions exist in order to understand how the situation developed and decide the best way to change it. "We need to understand what's happening in this structure that we're living in....We're more concerned about the daily violence that the worker lives. We have to redesign relationships because they destroy peoples' lives" (tr).

Albert pointed out that American workers can be transformed through open communication and solidarity as well:

> ...Even some of the non-Hispanics begin to see that these guys are just trying to make a living. Trying to feed their families in the same fashion that we're trying to feed our families here in the U.S. and they are real genuine people, and not these monsters that will take your jobs as a lot of people have a tendency to believe when we talk about Mexico.

Open dialogue is fundamental to conscientización, and researchers must understand this when they do work on the border. A researcher who can help keep the dialogue open, especially a researcher with an understanding of both North American and Mexican culture, will gain trust and cooperation from participants.

> ...What makes it successful is having somebody there who is sufficiently aware of the experiences of both sides – to be able to interpret their realities when people get together to meet. You go into Mexico, it's a different world.

> What you see is not necessarily what's going on. So sometimes it's helpful for somebody to sort of facilitate in that coming together.

On the other hand, expectations that researchers will add good information and legitimacy to a project is balanced by the sobering recognition that they have other goals besides the improvement of the participants' lives.

> ...Academics have to produce academic work and so forth, so they have a need to get their subjects and do a study and extract information, it almost becomes an extracting industry, like mining. It's a resource, people and their experience and their sufferings. And...we have to be conscious of that.

The researcher who conveys a sense of legitimacy (i.e., being an expert) must also convey a sense of humility. A Know-it-all researcher may alienate system members whose participation is necessary for the completion of the project. On the other hand, a Peer Participant researcher who promotes participation may gain the trust of system members, but may also have a more difficult time staying focused on the goals of the research for fear of displeasing anyone. Finally, a researcher must be sensitive to the immediate needs and feelings of the participants. A Political Tourist will not gain trust or cooperation from system members in the long run.

So where does this leave researchers, pulled and pushed on all sides by differing cultural contexts, perceptions, and behaviors? The researcher treads a narrow and difficult path in order to gain and maintain the needed trust and cooperation of participants, and at the same time generate interesting knowledge.

Conscientización can assist researchers studying in an activist context. We should engage in self-conscious critique of our actions and interactions with study participants, maintaining as balanced a perspective as possible. We should analyze our responses to the perceptions and demands of participants, to ensure that these responses are consciously critical, rather than unconscious and uncritical.

> ...Any time you're not a Mexican worker, you're involved in a different dynamic, you all of a sudden have something that you're trying to do. Which is not exactly what the worker's trying to do. And it's not to stop yourself from doing it, but it's helpful ...to analyze what we're doing because it affects how we make decisions.

An indication that self-conscious critique was working for me was when a Mexican activist said to me, "I do not know you, but I feel you are kind" (tr).

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How Adult Experience as a Supervising Decision-maker Can Inhibit Learning:

An examination of undergraduate senior projects.

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This paper reports on a preliminary investigation of a hypothesis generated from an ongoing examination of the senior research projects of a interdisciplinary adult degree program at an urban university. A review of adult education writing addressing the work of Chris Argyris reveals a tendency to overlook its application to this research problem. Does positive supervisory experience inhibit adult learning?

In the formative evaluation of teaching and practice, I have found that our students with the best grades and the most confidence sometimes do mediocre senior projects. Often these students are in supervisory positions. Evidence of positive experience limiting one's ability to learn resulted from from a close reading of completed senior projects and from teaching experience in a senior project proposal writing course.

While the research is qualitative and exploratory, there are several initial indicators of the problem. Frequently students who describe their position as chief, supervisor, or manager have submitted prescriptive projects which neglect seemingly obvious contrary interpretations or recommendations. When specifically invited to consider an opposing interpretation, these adults either ignore the invitation or consider other views in a cursory manner. Their sense of relevance appears to cause them to ignore literature written by other schools of interpretation. Their knowledge of their own complex problem situation leads them to dismiss evidence from similar situations on what appear to be trivial differences. These managers are not necessarily tradition-bound; rather then often advocate change and ignore traditional perspectives. One common indicator is the frequency of "should" and "must" in their writing.

I worked closely with a wonderful and caring police chief who did not seem capable of understanding how others would not share his moral vision about diversity training when he told them they should. The Chief had few doubts; his vision was supported by his reading of the professional and business literature on diversity and public safety. He had learned to be decisive. My own reading of the literature saw backlash and resistance looming. Doubting his experience may have allowed him to anticipate resistance, marshall the additional evidence I suggested, or present his case in a less didactic manner. Other less modest and less cooperative students who have succeeded as medical office managers, engineering supervisors, computer engineers, or government managers have written papers full of "must and should" and have refused to consider divergent perspectives or an interdisciplinary literature.

A major contribution of the discipline of adult education is overturning the conventional notion that intellectual and cognitive growth occurs primarily in educational institutions to young people. While many in higher education persist in denying the value of adult reflection on experience and its contribution to the university, as adult educators we may be hindered by our habitual affirmation of experience and by our battle with the traditional educational hegemony.

A general review of the literature on adult education and experience reveals little about how experience might prevent us from learning. A database search of ERIC, and two business databases (Infotrac and ABI Inform) revealed few cases where experience was viewed as anything but beneficial. In the education literature, experience was either lived or devised but rarely anything but educational. The more typical case is "to show students that they are here, that their voices matter, and that their experiences are valued."(Brookfield, 95) Boud, Keogh, & Walker, who focus on learning and experience, mention the learners' "history of success allowing them to enter more fully into the new context" and that "a positive attitude towards ourselves as learners is a necessary prerequisite. . ." (1985 22, 35)

There is some guidance concerning experience as an educational disadvantage in discussions of overcoming prejudice. (Ross-Gordon, et al, and Loden & Rosener) Mezirow discusses epistemic, sociocultural, and psychic distortions which inhibit adults from choosing "more inclusive differentiated permeable and integrative perspectives."(1991 13-18)

Merriam, Mott, and Lee (1996) have also identified this bias in the adult education literature which assumes learning from life experience is positive. "(T)here is scant reference to learning and the inhibition of personal growth."(2) While these authors discuss learning from the negative interpretation of life experience, I propose examining how learning is hindered by positive interpretations of the life experiences of supervisors or decision-makers.

While in almost all cases uncovered in the literature search businesses, profited from experience and required it, but there were some indications of experience as a reliance on an outdated culture, espoused theory, or a wrongheaded theory-in-use.

Whyte, Finger and Wollis, and the literature on action or strategic research note the gulf between university and discipline-based research and applied research. Argyris and Schön (1989) state that the challenge of action research is to achieve an "appropriate rigor" between irrelevance and the undisciplined. "Argyris and *modesty" became useful search statements.

A brief review of the adult education literature on reflective practitioners and treatments of the range of practical research approaches variously called participatory action research, action science, or critical reflection reveals an interesting manifestation of the positive experience bias. While Victoria Marsick advocates incorporating some of the rigorous methods of action science into action learning(1991: 31), many writers appear to overlook major emphases of Chris

Argyris. One such emphasis noted by Jack Mezirow is that we avoid negative feelings, that is, learners should feel good.

Mezirow notes how subcultures place little value on becoming critically reflective. (1991: 359) However an educator's role in combating this lack of reflection does not resemble a consultant's employment of techniques. Rather, an educator's challenge is to foster resistance to assumptions about educators acting upon students. Does this assume a lack of an active resistance by the learner to transformational thinking? Would not an action oriented approach call for a confrontation? Mezirow relates how Schön practices a form of artistry which allows him to listen to and confront student backtalk.

The reader is then referred to Brookfield for a hint at how artistry might confront negative feelings by balancing "unqualified support with a challenge to old modes of thinking." (Mezirow 373) This is a way to deal with negative feelings.

Does Stephen Brookfield help us understand negative feelings and our eventual goal of evaluating whether positive experiences might inhibit learning? The managers he describes "act thinkingly," so they are not similar to those I have discovered in my reading of senior projects. These progressive managers do not appear to make the same mistakes Argyris discovers in his years of research.

In contrast to progressive managers, workers in worker-managed companies need to develop confidence in their competence and to recognize the need to avoid their "stereotypical notions of opposing camps" and "demands for immediate innovation altered by the inexorable demands of market forces." (Brookfield 150) These descriptions are an effort to moderate excessive romanticism about workplace democracy, but the contrast between characterizations of management and labor remains. Another adult education espoused-theory advocates solidarity with the oppressed. Major insights in participatory action research resulted from action to resolve labor management contradictions. (Whyte) The conclusion of Fingar and Wollis that educators be more modest, empirical, and less envious of management may be appropriate here.

It may be that adult education's positive experience bias is causing us to pay less attention to labor management conflict. Brookfield further developed his chapter on "Using the Workplace as a Resource for Learning" by applying the Schön and Argyris concept of espoused theory to adult education in a wonderfully succinct manner. "...(E)ducation should help people become increasing self-directed. A third holds that participatory methods are most suitable, because they help learners make connections between their own experiences and the ideas they are exploring, ..."(1987:153) Brookfield mentions occurrences which could result in critical reflection on ones experience or a modification of ones espoused theory for reasons which include: repeated discrepancies, "fear of appearing incompetent," "cognitive dissonance, or vulnerability." Professionals who modify espoused theory must be able to make free and informed choices. (Brookfield 155)

But if professionals or workers cannot make free and informed choices or if they misuse that power, then theories-in-use might still not be revealed. This concept of defensiveness, which has been central to the confrontational work of Chris Argyris, is surprisingly rare in the adult education literature. Merriam, Mott, and Lee (1996) cite a very brief description in Kidd. (1973: 96) Several interesting examples of defending experiential practice against criticism arose in a review of senior projects and teaching notes.

One student who rejected suggestions of academic journal articles as irrelevant to the practical problems of medical office administration included the following in her final description of method:

> in-depth library research includes a Search Packet from the Medical Group Management Association - a professional organization of which I am a member. I have had personal experience and have incorporated that experience into this project.

Despite some immodesty, this particular student returned after graduating to thank me for badgering her into doubting and going beyond her experience.

An abstract of a column entitled "The Modesty Trap" by consultant in Working Woman (August 1994) notes "Women are willing to communicate their fears and doubts to business colleagues and this can hurt their career growth."(53) This particular recommendation is diametrically opposed to Argyris' Type II approach and to the recent finding of Bass and Avolio that female managers are seen by their reports as more transformational than their male counterparts. (549) These women's collective learning approach may differ from the adult education's espoused advocacy of self-directed learning may resemble the unilateral strategies of protection and control which Schon and Argyris identified with Type I approach.

Chris Argyris in "Skilled Incompetence" argues that pinpointing personality hides the real culprit - skill. (75) The most skilled professionals are often those who are best at covering up problems and avoiding conflict. These skilled professionals are among the few people who enjoy the luxury of the positive conditions included in the Brookfield-Mezirow "authentic framework." (Brookfield, 1987: 48).

Argyris' "Teaching Smart People How to Learn" reported that very competent and well educated consultants to be unable to evaluate themselves critically. This theme has been developed through years of research - "Students ... express their feelings and views in a way that does not invite or encourage confrontation ... This role behavior is high on advocacy and high on control." (1976 :642)

Paulo Friere in a conference at Cornell University noted a special kind of intelligence which was hard to translate but which resembled "street smarts." Being out of power gives one some toughness, flexibility, and tolerance of ambiguity. This paper explores ways in which being in power may limit one's ability to learn.

An ongoing review of more than four hundred sixty students' senior projects advised by faculty in all disciplines in the university provides an opportunity to find textual support for the following hypothesis: Positive adult experience as a supervisor or decision-maker can inhibit learning.

Merriam, Mott and Lee conclude that learning is viewed in the literature as "fundamentally positive" and rarely "about anger, bitterness, intolerance, distrust or fear." This paper contends that these "undiscussables"(Argyris and Schon, 1978) are an important element in the learning situation for the diverse people and supervisors with whom we work. How may we provoke a confident supervisor into more critical thinking?

Law enforcement professionals need to develop cultural empathy.

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THE INTERCONNECTING WEB: ADULT LEARNING COHORTS AS SITES FOR COLLABORATIVE LEARNING, FEMINIST PEDAGOGY AND EXPERIENTIAL WAYS OF KNOWING

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This paper describes research conducted to understand and give meaning to the experience of adults learning in cohort groups, in non-traditional graduate and undergraduate degree programs in higher education. The researcher sought to enter into the lived world of the learners to view the experience from their perspectives.

Introduction

A cohort, as defined in this study is a group of 12-20 adult students who meet together once a week for a four hour block of time over a period of 14-18 months, to complete a sequence of courses leading to a degree. As a facilitator of such groups for over 12 years, I have made some interesting observations. The students come into the learning group with no prior knowledge of each other and perhaps little in common except a mutual desire to complete their degree. Many are attracted by the accelerated nature of the program and the fact that it is designed to accommodate the schedule of working adults. A few have had prior cohort experience and come mainly for that reason, but by and large that is not a driving force for enrollment.

As time goes on, something happens to this collection of individuals; they become a group. As they work together and share experiences over time, they get to know each other. In many cases, the group becomes an essential part of the learning process. Many students remark that their self-confidence has increased, sometimes dramatically, and they acknowledge how much they have learned from each other.

This study is informed by literature in the fields of experiential learning, collaborative learning, and feminist pedagogy as well the critical pedagogy of Paulo Freire, Ira Shor and Myles Horton.

Methodology

Data were obtained through conversational interviews and focus group discussions with 29 students and through analysis of reflection papers written by an additional 18 students. The participants who ranged in age from 23-64, were students or recent graduates of degree programs in Applied Behavioral Science, Management and Business, Adult Education or Health Care Leadership, at one university, which utilized the cohort model.

Hermeneutic phenomenological reflection as defined by Van Manen (1990) was the methodological tool for data analysis which allowed for both description and interpretation of lived experience. In hermeneutical research, data analysis is not a separate process from data gathering, nor does it stand apart from writing about the research. I began my analysis after the first interview, which was taped and transcribed. The first reading occurred while simultaneously listening to the tape to get a holistic sense of what occurred. In essence, I was re-experiencing the interview, putting it out in front of me in a very literal sense in order truly "see" the experience. The second reading was more analytical. Words, phrases and paragraphs that seemed to have meaning were highlighted. Notes or memos were written in the margins to suggest ideas, questions, possible connections, and preliminary thematic constructs. For each of the identified themes I began to look at how the experience of being in a cohort was intersubjectively viewed by the participants. I used a reflective mode to begin forming an interpretation of what I was learning.

Findings

Six intersecting themes emerged as structures of the experience of learning in a cohort group (Lawrence, 1996):

Building a learning community - Participants created a group identity, personality, history and culture over time. This was characterized by shared commitment and mutual respect. Since participants worked together over an extended period of time, they got to know one another at a deeper level than classmates in a single course. As they became more comfortable with one another they felt safe to express what they were thinking and feeling without fear of judgement. This perception of safety was critical for meaningful communication to occur. Leadership in the group was democratic rather than hierarchical. The instructors were seen as playing a pivotal role in the functioning of the group by setting the climate for collaborative learning, reframing the role of "expert," and encouraging and promoting meaningful dialogue.

Experiencing a collaborative process- Experiential learning played a significant role in the cohorts. Students discovered that hearing the experiences of others helped them to learn by introducing new perspectives on issues. Hearing peers experiences helped them to connect to new ideas and concepts when their own knowledge base was limited. Students and teachers co-created knowledge through mutual inquiry and building on the experiences and perspectives of others.

Knowing and learning- Cohort members became open to new ideas as they actively engaged in critical reflection. Many developed an attitude of openness to new experiences, and consideration of alternative ideas and perspectives. They began to view learning as a process of mutual discovery. Most of the participants gradually began to trust the process that they could direct their own learning activities and that there were few single correct answers or universal truths. Meeting the course requirements became secondary to learning for many of them.

Valuing multiple perspectives-Divergent views expressed from different backgrounds, experience and knowledge bases opened participants eyes to new ways of thinking, creating increased opportunities for learning. Each member was recognized as having something valuable to contribute to the group. Diversity both enhanced and inhibited the learning process. Age and occupational differences were valued by all while differences in race and sexual orientation caused tension in some groups.

Bridging interpersonal connections-Cohorts are made up of networks of relationships. Subgroups often form which can be positive in that they provide motivation, support and connectedness among the members. They can also be a negative influence by dividing the group and limiting opportunities for differing perspectives to be heard. At a minimum level, the group members accepted one another and developed good working relationships. Some groups went beyond acceptance to empathy and caring for one another. Often genuine friendships formed. Group members gave each other moral and emotional support to keep one another from becoming discouraged. Individuals felt a sense of belonging. They did not have to go through the process alone.

Facilitating individual development-Experiencing success and being validated by peers increased individuals' self-confidence. Individual success and perseverance was nurtured by the group in many cases. The cohort often represented a source of stability in an otherwise chaotic life. Individuals often experienced transformation and a growth of self-knowledge. The group acted as a mirror, allowing the individual to learn about herself through the eyes of others.

Discussion

Learning in a cohort differs from traditional education in many ways. The most striking difference is that students become interdependent upon one another. Their individual and collective knowledge and experiences are combined to contribute to the learning process. The fact that they get to know one another increases their participation and their opportunities for learning. In an environment where learners' experience is valued and sought, students share more with each other.

In order for a cohort to be a positive growth-enhancing experience for its members, certain factors needed to be in place. Participants thrived in an environment where there was mutual trust and respect. It was important that group members shared in their commitment to the group and to all of its members. The students who felt the most positive about their cohorts freely shared their experiences and sought out the experiences of others. They questioned and challenged one another in critical ways and developed group goals for everyone to succeed. In order for learning to take place, it was essential that individuals were open to learning from one another. This meant a willingness to question their own assumptions and learning to view ideas from multiple perspectives. In the most successful groups, diversity was valued. Many students broke out of their comfort zones of dealing with people who were similar to them. This often meant making a special effort to vary their vision like a photographer hanging over the edge of a cliff to get a different view. (Lawrence and Mealman, 1996) They developed caring and supportive relationships with their cohort members which helped them to keep going during stressful periods. Individuals found joy in learning which extended far beyond their school experience.

Many of the cohort participants admitted to undergoing what Mezirow (1991) referred to as a perspective transformation. They changed in profound ways, most significantly in the way they viewed learning and the role of their own and others' experience in the learning process. As Bonnie described:

> I've always been very strict in my beliefs, very careful, very square. This is where they start. This is where they end. Now we have not had a class on religion in my whole master degree, and [yet] I am so different and have explored so many different things and read so many different books and listened to tapes and visited other churches, and I know that it has sparked my not being afraid to explore, hearing other people express some of their feelings. . . So I realized just the other day that I have done over a total half circle here, and I'm nowhere that I was before, and I didn't plan on taking this trip, I'm just there.

Most of the students were conditioned from prior schooling into what one participant referred to as the "teach and test mode." They believed that knowledge was "out there" somewhere and that it was the role of the teacher to impart this knowledge to them. They were often uncomfortable with ambiguity and frustrated when the answers were not immediately forthcoming from the instructor. They gradually began to shift their view of the authority of knowledge (Bruffee, 1993) from the instructor to themselves and their classmates. The focus changed from what they needed to do to meet the teacher's expectations to what they wanted to know. They began to take more responsibility for their own learning and encouraged each other to take that responsibility by example. Once their perspective of acquiring and constructing knowledge shifted, their awareness of the learning opportunities around them increased. They saw themselves as lifelong learners.

Cohorts have the potential to create an environment conducive to learning as described above; however, in some groups there were factors that inhibited learning. These included: unequal levels of commitment by members, i.e. some members not following through on tasks; closed- mindedness on the part of some members such as believing that they are always right and not willing to consider other views; group members whose learning styles were more independent who refused to collaborate; members who dominated or withdrew from the group; and members who persisted in viewing the instructor as the ultimate authority, discounting the experience and knowledge of their classmates.

Much of the learning that takes place in the group depends upon the motivation of the individuals. Nevertheless, instructors who understand learning in cohorts from the perspective of the learner can have an impact on the experience by attending to group dynamics, promoting a safe environment, de-centering authority, promoting interdependence, maximizing the potential for co-creativity, encouraging exploration of multiple perspectives, valuing experiential ways of knowing, and helping students develop support systems within the group.

Experiential Ways of Knowing -Many of the participants began to value and appreciate experiential ways of knowing. They had learned experientially in the past, but, as Horton (1990) suggested, were not aware that their experiences had value. The cohort provided many opportunities for them to share experiences, build on the experiences of others, explore the meaning in those experiences and use their experience as a way of accessing theory. Another way they used experience was in the co-creation of knowledge. One person would share an experience or an idea and someone else would add their interpretation from their own frame of reference helping both to understand the idea more completely. This would often include the use of storytelling and metaphor. This level of sharing occurred most often in a trusting environment where people felt safe to express tentative, not fully-formed ideas. In the end, the sum of what they understood was greater than the contributions of each member. To co-create knowledge with others reframes the role of the teacher as expert. People need to believe that their experience and that of their peers is a valid source of knowledge.

Theories of experiential learning have been around since the time of Dewey (1916). Kolb (1984) developed a model of experiential learning that included four access points for apprehending experiential knowledge: concrete experience, reflection, abstraction and experimentation. Of the theorists who have attempted to expand on Kolb's model (Jarvis, 1987; Burnard, 1988; Hutchings and Wutzdorff, 1988), only Burnard acknowledged experience sharing as an integral part of the experiential learning cycle. This sharing of experience is critical to learning in a cohort.

Individuals come into the group with their own unique stocks of experiences. Experiences don't always educate (Jarvis, 1987; Horton, 1990) but they can provide a strong foundation for learning. In a cohort, people get to know one another over time. During this time the members gradually share bits and pieces of their experiences as they become relevant to the discussion. As participants share their lived experiences they allow others to enter into them. More than merely hearing about someone's experience, as one enters into a dialogue with that person, it becomes part of their own lived experience. Each new experience shared is viewed from the context of what one already knows about that person, which is more than the sum of their experiences. A cohort allows for one to view experiences in a more holistic way.

Experiential learning in a cohort involves making sense of one's experience not only through personal reflection, as Kolb (1984) suggested, but through sharing the experience with others. Often the very act of articulating an experience in words helps the individual to understand its meaning. Hearing others interpretations of the experience in a group has the added benefit of allowing the individual to"see" the experience from multiple perspectives. As Kate observed:

> Here we were living through, reading about theories of adult development and learning, or stages of adulthood, and everybody was at a different stage, and we could see what was happening in each other's lives. So to me, that made it a lot more fun and exciting.

Collaborative learning assumes that knowledge is socially, rather than individually, constructed (Bruffee, 1993). A limitation of previous research has been that the time frame of a traditional college class isn't sufficiently long enough for true collaboration to occur. Because students remain together for an extended period of time, the cohort provides an effective model for studying the effects of collaborative learning. The reality of knowing one's classmates over time, sharing multiple experiences, co-creating knowledge by exploring issues from many perspectives, building supportive relationships, democratic participation and modeling a passion for learning contributes to the collaborative learning process. This study did not attempt to evaluate learning in cohorts. It does not claim that collaborative learning is superior or inferior to others forms of learning. Its purpose was to understand the meaning of the learning experience for cohort participants. It does, however, suggest a starting point for understanding how collaboration impacts individual learning for some adults.

Feminist Pedagogy-There are no studies to my knowledge that link collaborative learning with feminist pedagogy, yet feminist pedagogy is by definition collaborative, with its focus on relationships and democratic participation. (Schniedewind, 1985; Belenky et al. 1986; Maher, 1987; Shrewsbury,1987) Students in cohorts become interdependent upon one another so that learning is less teacher-centered. Both men and women come to appreciate subjective ways of knowing where experience, intuition and emotion are valued along with rationality. Feminist pedagogy assumes that there are multiple realities rather than universal truths. The cohort creates a context for these multiple realities to be explored. Shrewsbury (1987) envisioned a feminist or liberatory classroom to include students engaged with one another and the community in a process of continuous reflection, a network of relationships where students respect each other's differences and care about one another's learning, learning that builds on the experiences of the participants and a democratic community where power is shared. This study has shown that the potential for this sort of classroom is high in a cohort group if the students are equally committed to their learning process.

This research explored the phenomenon of co-creativity. This process utilizes experiential and collaborative learning as well as feminist pedagogy. Students and teachers co-created knowledge in the classroom through dialogue and experience sharing. Participants alternatively described this process as "bridging" or "sparking" off of the ideas of others and thus making connections. The cohort is ripe with opportunities for co-creation. This process rarely happens in a traditional lecture course where one engages with the material through individual reflection, if at all. In a cohort which allows for democratic participation, students can immediately verbalize their thoughts, thus making connections to the material. When others contribute their ideas as well, a bridge is built which increases understanding. Tentative ideas can be expressed to be played with and explored by the group. The result is a collective knowledge that is co-created by the group.

Although students study theories of adult learning, they don't fully understand what it means to be an adult learner until they reflect on their experiences. Adult learning in a cohort is approached in ways that are congruent with individual learning styles and nurtured in a group environment. It involves making individual and group decisions, thinking through ideas, and creating knowledge. Adult learning also involves unlearning. This means letting go of assumptions about universal truths and embracing multiple realities. It involves admitting one's ignorance in order to actively learn from others. It involves stretching one's limits beyond one's assumed capabilities. Learning in a cohort is a collective process that sparks passion from one individual to the next and grows into a shared passion.

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Academic vs. Integrated Functional-Context Literacy Programs: Responding to the Needs of Low Literate Clients of Welfare

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Abstract

The "Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996," promises to usher in a new era of literacy programming as practitioners attempt to design short-term programs that address the academic and employment needs of low-literate welfare recipients. A comparative analysis of academic and integrated literacy/occupational skills programs is presented.

Introduction

In August, 1996 the U.S. Congress passed, and President Clinton subsequently signed into law, the "Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996." This welfare reform legislation promises to overhaul the federal system of welfare that has been in place for over 60 years. With the intent of providing a system of incentives and disincentives to compel welfare recipients to exercise personal responsibility via acquiring and keeping a job, the new legislation passes control over the welfare system to the states. Using block grants of federal money, states will now be primarily responsible for designing their own replacements for current welfare programs with the goal of unsubsidized work for recipients. Cash assistance will be limited to a total of five years in a lifetime and able-bodied adults will be required to work within two years (Aukofer, 1996). However, as states attempt to implement programs under the new legislation they will likely discover that the literacy levels, occupational knowledge, and work experiences, of a substantial proportion of welfare recipients are incompatible with the knowledge requirements of the jobs for which they are being targeted.

The experiences, of several states at the forefront of welfare reform suggest that the new initiatives being launched nationally will have the effect of shifting the focus of educational programs that target welfare recipients. For example, during Wisconsin's new welfare-to-work initiative, state-level JOBS (i.e., Job Opportunities and Basic Skills) studies found that "remedial education has the lowest successful completion rate" of any of the JOBS program components (Jobs Annual Report - State of Wisconsin, 1994). Consequently, the employment counselors assigned the responsibility of assisting the employment efforts of welfare recipients decided that traditional literacy programs were a low priority for their clients. Students were directed to withdraw their participation and interested welfare clients were denied approval to participate. Welfare recipients were directed to participate in learning programs, e.g., Job Assessment, Job-Readiness/Motivation Training, Job Skills Training, and others that more effectively assist them in meeting the employment requirements of local employers.

The demands for employment relevance comes with a value judgment which implies that school-taught knowledge is not a legitimate means to assist learners in the acquisition of job-related skills. This perspective has compelled literacy practitioners in states at the forefront of welfare reform to shift from efforts to build the general literacy skills of welfare recipients, to the development of short-term educational programs that integrate literacy and occupational-skills training designed to assist them in the immediate acquisition of jobs (Cohen, 1994).

The experiences of literacy practitioners in these states suggest the new legislation will usher in a new era of literacy programming which will require literacy practitioners to radically transform their mental models of "how" and "why" literacy programs should be designed and delivered. This paper presents a comparative analysis of the traditional "academic" model of literacy provision and an emerging "integrated functional-context model that is believed to be more responsive to the needs of welfare recipients.

Characteristics of Welfare Recipients

Welfare recipients are typically described via deficit terminology that directs attention to shortcomings in their character, life experiences, abilities, achievements, and/or personal life styles. The act of receiving welfare has become stigmatized and individuals identified as recipients are labeled as social deviants regardless of other redeeming attributes. There is considerable diversity within this population. Therefore, in interpreting statistical data on welfare recipients, programmers should be careful not to judge all recipients as characteristic of the norm.

Demographic Characteristics

Nationally, it is estimated that the current number of recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children hover between 14 and 15 million (NIL, 1994). Two-thirds of this number are children. In terms of age, the 4.6 million parents on AFDC are a young population: more than 50% are under 30, and about eight percent are under twenty, i.e., teenagers. However, about 42% of all single women currently receiving AFDC originally gave birth as teenagers (Cohen, 1994). Recipients represent diverse racial groups: 39% are African-American, 38 % are White, and 17% are Hispanic. Only a very small percentage of AFDC recipients, about 15%, receive continuous assistance for eight or more years. Most recipients are on and off the rolls for briefer spells (i.e., discrete periods of continuous receipt of AFDC). Approximately two-thirds of welfare recipients collect cash assistance for less than 2 years at a spell. About 50% of this population return at some point over the next five years, during another period of unemployment or hard times.

Educational Attainment and Skills

As a group, welfare recipients have significantly lower educational attainment and achievement than the general adult population. Cohen (1994) suggested that nearly 50% of welfare recipients have less than a high school diploma, as compared with 27% of the general adult population. In a study of the literacy skills of 106 randomly selected welfare recipients in Arkansas, Marsh II et al. (1990) differentiated three levels of literacy within the sample: 36% of the sample possessed "advanced literacy," i.e., functioning at nearly the eleventh-grade level in both reading and writing skills, and possessed average cognitive ability; 17% of the sample were functionally literate, but were below average on cognitive ability; and 47% were functionally illiterate and were significantly below average on cognitive ability.

The findings by Marsh II et al (1990) were corroborated by Zill et al. (1991; cited in Cohen, 1994) who pointed out that there is considerable diversity within the population of welfare mothers in terms of literacy and employment experience. Nearly one quarter have cognitive achievement scores that are average or above, and 20% have at least two years of work experience in the previous five years. Therefore they are considered to "job ready." Those in the bottom half have extremely low literacy skills and meager employment skills that, when combined with feelings of helplessness and hopelessness, pose a very different challenge to education and employment programs. Also, Zill et al. (1991; cited in Cohen, 1994) observed that women who are long-term welfare recipients have lower cognitive achievement scores, less education, and somewhat lower self-esteem than short-term recipients. In addition, many welfare mothers suffer from conditions such as high levels of learning disability, poor physical health, depression, substance abuse, and low self-esteem, which can all pose severe barriers to success in education and employment programs.

The 1993 National Adult Literacy Survey (NALS) also sheds some insight into the literacy proficiencies of welfare recipients. Although it did not address the question of welfare specifically, it did ask respondents if they received food stamps. It found that 27 to 31 percent of respondents in the two lowest levels, (i.e., levels 1 and 2) on each of the three literacy scales, (i.e., prose, document, and quantitative literacy) reported receiving food stamps compared to only 4 percent of respondents in the two highest levels (i.e. levels 4 and 5). The NALS also demonstrated a similar connection between literacy and poverty and employment. Nearly half (41 to 44 percent) of all adults in the lowest level on each literacy scale were living in poverty, compared with only 4 to 8 percent of those in the two highest proficiency levels. In terms of employment, on each of the literacy scales, more than half of the adults who demonstrated proficiencies in Level 1 were out of the labor force, i.e., not employed and not looking for work, compared with only 10 to 18 percent of the adults performing in each of the two highest levels.

The above literature suggests that many welfare recipients face numerous barriers to obtaining appropriate literacy skills. As a result of prior school experiences many may have low self-esteem and little confidence in their capacity to learn. As parents enrolled in adult literacy programs, they will likely be faced with competing demands on their time and attention. Cohen (1994) suggest that they also experience up to four times as many life events, e.g., such as loss of housing due to fire or eviction, family illness, unsafe housing conditions, domestic violence and neighborhood crime and violence requiring change and readjustment than other individuals. These events upset family stability and often interfere with efforts to persist in adult literacy programs. However, having survived poverty, stigmatization, and family and community crisis situations, the great majority of them have the fortitude and strength of character to persist in learning programs (even mandated programs) designed to address their learning needs (Friedlander and Martinson, 1996). Literacy providers are now faced with the question of how to provide the most appropriate learning opportunities for such learners.

Characteristics of Literacy Programs: Academic vs. Integrated

The need for welfare recipients to acquire a significant level of literacy within a two-year time frame has prompted an increasing number of literacy providers to embrace an integrated approach to literacy and occupational skills training as a means to improve literacy instruction, knowledge retention, and students' motivation (Cohen, 1994). This transition from the more traditional "academic" approach represents a significant change not only in the philosophical orientation to teaching literacy skills, but in the entire scope of designing, implementing and evaluating the literacy effort. In Table 1, eleven categories of program attributes are depicted where the program types differ in their approach to the development of literacy skills among welfare recipients.

Academic Approach

Proponents of the academic approach believe that it is important to develop the generalized knowledge and skills of recipients. They place a premium on "symbol manipulation" where the learner is encouraged to master symbolic rules of various kinds (Resnick, 1987). Instructional objectives, course materials, and class instruction are organized around the identification, manipulation, and mastery of symbols, e.g., letters, words, numbers, formulas, etc., that are abstractions from contextual situations. In addition, academic programs also value the learner's ability to think independently, without the aid of physical and cognitive tools, e.g., notes, calculators, etc., (Resnick, 1987).

Proponents also, believe that recipients should be taught symbol manipulation and independent thinking skills via a focus on coding and decoding of abstract concepts (Resnick, 1987). The planning should be conducted by subject specialists and guided by the curriculum of K-12 schools (Mezirow, 1996). In this view, students learn best in classroom situations via drill and practice exercises conducted in individualized (and small group) sessions with the aid of teacher-made materials, workbooks, and computer programs.

Table 1.
Characteristics of Literacy Programs: Academic vs. Integrated

Program Attributes	Academic	Integrated
Purpose and Goals	Teach generalized knowledge and skills that are transferable to a wide variety of situations	Teach situation-specific knowledge and skills that are applicable to a particular contextual situation, e.g., a particular job (Cohen, 1994)
Skills Developed	Symbol manipulation; independent thinking (Resnick, 1987)	Contextualized reasoning; employment of knowledge tools (Resnick, 1987)
View of Learning	Individualistic activity comprised of coding and decoding abstract concepts (Resnick, 1987)	Social phenomena occurring in specific situations that are applied to complex problems (Anderson, et al., 1996)
Planning	Guided by K-12 knowledge requirements and performed by literacy directors, teachers, and others (Mezirow, 1996)	A negotiated activity involving literacy personnel, occupational skills specialists, clients, employers, payers and other stake holders
Curriculum Content	K-12 Subject Matter (Mezirow, 1996)	Academic skills w/in the context of occupation (Cohen, 1994)
Instructional Materials	Teacher made, workbooks, computer programs, and others (Mezirow, 1996)	Teacher made, computer-based simulated environments, authentic problems encountered in the workplace, case studies, and others (Resnick, 1987; and Anderson, et al., 1996)
Delivery Format	Individualized, groups, lecture, and others	Coaching, small groups, lecture (Cohen, 1994)
Location	Classes, communities, homes, and others	Jobs skills centers, classrooms, workplaces, and others
Instructor Qualifications	Literacy specialists and generalists	Literacy instructors and occupational skills instructors
Time-Frame	1-Wk. to 3 (or more) years	Several days to 20 weeks
Student Outcomes	Certificates, e.g., GED, HS diploma (Mezirow, 1996)	Competence to perform in specific contextual situations

Integrated Programs

Integrated literacy/occupational skills programs attempt to integrate basic skills training with functionally meaningful content. Proponents of this approach argue that training by abstraction is of little use to adult low-literates seeking immediate entry into the workplace. They believe that to be truly skillful in a functional context, learners must develop situation-specific forms of competence, and they view learning as inherently a social phenomena, i.e., occurring in specific situations (e.g., work, family, etc.) that should be done on complex problems (Anderson, et al., 1996). Recognizing that in out-of-school learning situations most mental activities are engaged intimately with knowledge tools, (e.g., calculators, templates, procedural rules, and others) they argue that learners should be allowed to utilize the knowledge tools found in typical work environments and required to display their skills in complex workplace situations. Therefore, students learn new materials more efficiently as they use knowledge of their jobs, and the knowledge tools of the workplace, to develop literacy skills. In this way, education is made more meaningful as it elicits greater participation (and buy-in) from learners who need to see the relevance of what they are learning (Keeley, 1991).

Integrated programs are typically located in Job Centers, community agencies, and literacy centers. They attempt to closely simulate the targeted job setting and integrate basic skills education and job skills training. Occupations are targeted that have a demonstrated lack of workers and only twelve to twenty clients are allowed to participate in each program. The programs range from several days to twenty weeks in duration. They are typically designed by administrators in negotiated arrangements with potential employers, social services representatives i.e., payers), curriculum planners, and other stakeholders.

Conclusion

National welfare reform will likely usher in a new era of literacy programming for adult literacy practitioners. As states design their versions of welfare reform, the pressure on literacy practitioners to provide a quick fix to the literacy needs of long-term welfare recipients will likely increase. Given this pressure it is tempting to make programming decisions on the perceived surface benefits of a particular approach to literacy.

Although both the academic and integrated approaches to literacy offer some appealing attributes to practitioners interested in effectively assisting welfare recipient in the transition from welfare-to-work, the jury is still out on their effectiveness with welfare recipients in both the short and long-term. More research and testing of the appropriate “mix” of attributes from each approach are required before committing limited resources to a particular approach.

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Note: references will be provided upon request.

IMAGINING AND CRITICAL REFLECTION IN AUTOBIOGRAPHY: AN ODD COUPLE IN ADULT TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING

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Abstract: Adult education approaches to transformative learning generally emphasize the interpretive role of critical reflection and critical thinking. This explanatory understanding of transformative learning as autobiography claims that the learner composes their life, by using imagination and critical reflection to interpret their life story within the social context.

THE PHENOMENON OF REMARKABLE CHANGE

Remarkable change is not an expectable outcome of adult development. It indicates adult transformative learning that has both personal and social dimensions. From the viewpoint of the person who makes a remarkable change, their decision to enact this alternative behaviour constitutes a deliberate and conscientious shift away from a previously valued important personal commitment. As well, the behavioural enactment of a remarkable change in life choice contravenes publicly some institutional or cultural norm. In their accounts of remarkable change, many authors express a new sense of joy, peace, and freedom. They also often claim a greater sense of personal integrity as a result of their choice.

From a sociological viewpoint, the transformative learning of the co-researchers in this inquiry participates in a contemporary worldwide social movement among Catholic priests, sometimes described as an "exodus". Since the 1960's, Catholic priests have been reconsidering the meaning of authority and sexuality in their lives. Of these, some 100,000 have withdrawn from active ministry. The origins, outcomes and impact of this worldwide cultural phenomenon of critical review and withdrawal reflect the alternating and sometimes conflictful culture of the Roman Catholic church during this era. Questioning of tradition, and institutional resistance to change in the policy of mandatory celibacy have both been part of the social context in which the co-researchers have lived. In response to enabling constraints in their changing social situation, each participant perceived, defined and imaginatively composed their life. The narratives of transformation told in this inquiry illustrate well how the authors' historical and proximate social contexts have influenced them. They show also the interaction between personal authorship and social construction in adult transformative learning.

A COOPERATIVE INQUIRY INTO REMARKABLE CHANGE: AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LEARNING

I began this inquiry intending to discover the learning processes in remarkable change and the place of imagining among them. I proposed a cooperative inquiry to the participants as a research paradigm appropriate to the study of remarkable change, because it permitted them to explore and explain their remarkable change in their own terms. Because the explanations of transformative and emancipatory learning emerged as life stories, I renamed the research area as autobiographical learning. The research group used interviews, conversation, artwork, metaphor analysis, and parable to explore their "autobiographing" and transformative learning. As the research progressed, I became convinced that the metaphor of autobiography aptly signifies the processes of transformative learning that occur in everyday lives. As an outcome of transformative learning, learners compose their life as well as its story.

Autobiographical learning is decernible through significant changes in the learner's self-understanding, worldviews, and ways of being in the world. Remarkable changes have social consequences. Those whose lives are affected by another's remarkable change expect from them some account of the transformation. Our best attempts to give a coherent explanation for both continuity and change in our lives lead to a story about improvisation and composition. Autobiographical learning, a form of learning from experience, sustains the ongoing formation and reinvention of life and its narrative, but only in so far as learners attend with both imagination and critical reflection to contexts and circumstances in their lives. My examination of the narratives of remarkable change led to portray autobiographical learning in the following terms.

- Autobiographical learning, which encompasses reflection on experience, critical thinking, and imagining accompanies a transformation of perspectives and lifestyle. Learners change the life story they tell to themselves and to others.
- From time to time, events disrupt our usual ways of understanding ourselves and the contexts of our lives. Critical reflection on the interaction between events of inner and outer experience and our traditional ways of interpreting our lives, can lead us to see how our values, feelings, ideas, images, and choices shape and sometimes distort our life. In the light of new critical awareness, we grasp for a new self-understanding and an alternative personal narrative .
- As we discover and rediscover our capacity to imagine constructively our life as other than it is, we gain a sense of becoming the author of a life story that we invent and re-invent. In moments of autobiographical learning, our sense of autonomy and authority increases.
- The quality of our authorship, and the degree of authority to shape our lives are related to the strengths and limits of personal capacities, enabling constraints of culture, significant personal relationships, the physical environment, and the vagaries of circumstance.
- Autobiographical learning may be facilitated by life storytelling in diverse explicit and implicit ways. Imagining, critical reflection, and artistic expression call into awareness tacit and symbolic dimensions of our knowing. Telling and retelling life stories helps us to understand ourselves and explain our life to others.

Autobiographical learning includes all the processes by which we come to compose and construct our life story of continuity and change. Learners generate narratives of self-understanding, and find explanations of change in a variety of ways; sometimes suddenly, at other times as a result of a lengthy period of learning. Through all of the processes of transformative learning from experience runs the common thread of interpretation and self-composition.

Autobiographical learning appears to be arduous. It may require exacting processes of self-reflection and sometimes costly choices. People encounter difficulties in enacting a new life in a social context where the remarkable change in one's life story is not welcome. The emphasis placed on critical reflectivity (Mezirow, 1991) and critical thinking (Brookfield, 1987) as primary tools to effect transformative learning suggests that learners extract themselves from stagnation and repetitive living through conscious critical awareness. This inquiry's narratives portray the neglected yet crucial factor of imagining in the learners' transitions and transformations. Through each account of autobiographical learning runs the thread of self-composition through interpretation.

IMAGINING

The agency of imagining in autobiographical learning, which leads to self-reinvention, appears to involve a sequence of events similar to those in well-known accounts of scientific discoveries. The accounts regularly depict a researcher engaged in intense work for a long period without apparent result. Then, in a moment of relaxation, an image or insight appears within the researcher's consciousness, unbidden and unexpected. A time of further diligent work to fathom the meaning of the insight follows this insight. The discovery which eventuated is, therefore, the outcome of an elaborate process of knowing in which insight and imagination play a part. Likewise, the interpretive knowing of autobiographical learning is accomplished through the joint activity of critical reflection and imagining. Although imagining deserves thorough exposition and discussion, let this summary of Casey's (1976) phenomenological study suffice here.

- Imagining and insight may be seen as synonymous; however, imagining differs from fantasy.
- Imagining is a form of mental activity, related to, but independent of other forms, such as critical thinking. Imagining-*that* and imagining-*how* are two aspects of this activity.
- Imagining emerges spontaneously into consciousness. Spontaneous images or epiphanies may then be elaborated through controlled imagining.
- Imagining questions, and is questioned by the tradition through which we usually interpret our experience; imagining proposes possibilities for change.
- Imagining collaborates with critical thinking to discern distortions in the life story, construct an alternative self-interpretation, and enable learners to compose their autobiography.

LIFE AND LIFE STORY ARE FORMED THROUGH INTERPRETATION

Retelling is the serial reconstruction of the life story. It takes place within and through the process of the author's ongoing self-interpretation. Each new telling of the life story reveals the emerging self-understanding of the author. Reimagined life stories disclose the outcome of transformative learning, and communicate an explanation of the change. A constituent common to autobiographical learning and the composition of the life story is the work and play of interpretation.

Differing approaches to interpretation (Gadamer, 1975: Habermas, 1972; Ricoeur, 1976) contribute to the understanding of autobiography and transformative learning proposed here. These three philosophers hold in common that interpretation aims for an explanatory understanding of texts and human actions, both one's own and those of others. In autobiographical learning and autobiography, the author's own life and life story are the text for interpretation. The principal emphasis in the following discussion of interpretation is based on Paul Ricoeur's critical hermeneutics. The primary aim here is to consider the interpreting which learners do to understand themselves and events in their lived experience. Interpreting experience leads to self-formation or deformation, and the construction of autobiography.

Besides its cognitive function of explanation and understanding, interpretation also exercises a normative function in autobiography. Learners expect to reach a self-understanding which measures up to their received tradition. The life story appears to be formed through a process of ongoing normative interpretation of experience. In this inquiry, the co-researchers discovered that change had taken place in their understanding of the interaction between their tradition and disruptive events in their experience. Whenever their self-interpretation led to a critique and revision of their tradition, the reinvention of the life story was likely to occur .

Meaningful actions and their accounts, the "texts" for interpretation in this study, included all those events and processes which led to the authors' choice to exit from the priesthood and to enter into marriage. All written texts and meaningful actions leave a mark on their social context, have unforeseen consequences, disclose a world before them, and are always open to reinterpretation. They have an autonomy which evades the control even of the author's intention (Ricoeur, 1980). Consequently, these life stories are open to interpretation in ways other than those which their authors initially intended and later reinvented.

The co-researchers had for a long time experienced contradictions in their life as disruptive, and requiring resolution. Despite active efforts to reach some conclusion to their personal chaos, they found that ongoing self-examination in the light of their tradition was repetitive and stagnant. However, due to persistent questioning and an illuminating insight, their narratives began to disclose to them a world that went beyond their current understanding of their immediate social context and ecclesiastical tradition. Ricoeur has observed; "A work does not only mirror its time, but it opens up a world which it bears within itself" (1971: 544). Thus, their ongoing interpretation of their experience revealed a world which was *imaginatively possible*. Imagining, within interpretive knowing, held out possibilities for recomposing their lives and life stories. For these priests, some of this possible world included leaving the priesthood and marriage. Critical thinking enabled them to test the feasibility of such a re-invention. Within their interpretive activity, through critical reflection the researchers detected distortions within their experience and tradition. Through imagining they encountered alternative possible worlds. Subsequently, critical thinking enabled them to test the feasibility of the reinvention of their life and its story.

Comprehension of the text or action of one's life consists in apprehending what lies in front of it, rather than what was the original situation, context, or author's intention. To understand the meaning of actions of the life story, the author-interpreter must become aware of what these actions point toward in disclosing a possible world, and how he or she might stand in it. Interpreting positions the autobiographical learners to imagine *what* might take place in their life, and *how* to enact their new account of self. Narratives in this inquiry show that ongoing interpretation of experience and tradition leads on some occasions to a patently different self-understanding, and to the enactment of remarkable change. Autobiographical learning entails a change from living on the basis of a once self-evident worldview to living from an alternative and possible perspective. The process of interpreting draws upon both spontaneous epiphany and controlled imagining.

UNDERSTANDING OR MISUNDERSTANDING?

Does interpretation, which brings a new perspective and practice, actually constitute an understanding rather than a misunderstanding of one's meaningful action? Validity does not rest on the criterion that the new understanding is consistent with the learner's current worldview, since transformative learning implies change in perspective and practice. Moreover, this question about validity goes beyond concern about whether the interpretation accurately represents what authors say in the life stories. Nor is the question answered by a diligent retrieval of the circumstances of the act, or by uncovering authors' hidden intentions. According to Ricoeur, the crucial question about validity asks whether a particular interpretation expresses the truth claims of the account of transformation.

The question about what constitutes genuine understanding or a valid interpretation of the ongoing life story is crucial for people making choices for remarkable change. Obviously, not all interpretations of experience and tradition are equally valid. Valid interpretation relies on good guesses, because each text or action is plurivocal, and "open to several readings and reconstructions" (Ricoeur, 1971: 544). The guess, which enables the process of interpretation to begin, is a necessary step in judging what is important in understanding the text and the life.

In turn, there is a question about how to authenticate guesses. Since the certitude of one's interpretation of human actions cannot be demonstrated, an interpretation which purports to understand authentically the text of a life needs to be more probable than any other. The decision to accept one rather than another is based on judicial consideration of alternative and opposing interpretations. Schneiders (1991), sympathetic to Ricoeur's approach, proposed some criteria for validity, drawn from her expertise in biblical interpretation. Some of these criteria have a global quality, others are specific. For example, she asked whether the interpretation comprehensively takes into account all the dimensions of the story that are likely to have a bearing on its meaning such as the social context in which the story is composed. The criterion of fruitfulness refers to a particular interpretation's capacity to open up the potential of the text to explain the actions it portrays. The ongoing recomposition of autobiography is sustained by a fruitful understanding of the interplay of experience and tradition in the author's social context. Referring to the interpretation of written texts, Schneiders proposed that a valid understanding takes an account as it stands, unless there is good reason for reshaping it. Valid understanding brings an internal coherence that is not achieved at the price of violating the whole of the story, or the story as a whole. It offers a plausible account of what appears to be anomalous in the story, and is compatible with what else is known about the situation from other sources. After due consideration, one particular interpretation is judged to be the most genuine. Nevertheless, it is "a verdict to which it is possible to make an appeal" (Ricoeur, 1971: 555). Reflection by the co-researchers on disorienting events in their experience triggered a reinterpretation of their life story. These reinterpretations, which led to remarkable change in the co-researchers' lives and life stories, are examples of an appeal against the verdict of an interpretation based on longstanding tradition.

The world of meaning that is disclosed through interpreting brings an understanding which goes beyond what even the actor or author of the text may have understood. To gain this expanded horizon, the interpreter's reflection must involve a dialectic of distanciation and participation. Ricoeur described reflection as emerging unexpectedly within ongoing experience. In a critical moment of distanciation from the current account of itself that the ego gives, the knower becomes reflectively aware of the tradition in which their life stands. However, critical reflection alone cannot dismantle tradition's claim to be of sovereign importance for interpreting. Reflection, which includes imagining and critique, understands what is disclosed in the life. Ricoeur argued that poetic understanding receives the manifestation which the text itself bears within it. He proposed that interpreting, such as occurs in autobiographical learning, belongs to the realm of the poetic. Referring to the broad domains of poetic discourse, he argued that the poetic or metaphorical dimension of language has a revelatory function.

In autobiographical learning, the manifestation of meaning, which presents a possible reshaping of tradition and the life story, occurs through the author's poetic and critical interpretation of events in experience. Knowing involves both critical distance from the text, and poetic participation in it. Submission to a literal understanding of the text of experience would close down the revelation of meaning; imagining and poetic knowing responds receptively to the manifestation. In so far as authors embraces the new world of meaning and enact it, they compose a new form for both their life and their autobiography.

Interpretation is a transformative process in autobiographical learning. The narratives in this inquiry show that when spontaneous imagining pointed the authors towards a possible change in their lives, they embarked on a transformative reordering of its story. Valid interpretation appropriates the meaning of the life story, and promotes interaction and mutual questioning between the knower's horizon and the world which the text projects (Schneiders, 1991). Interpretation that emerges at last from a fusion of horizons is the more compelling when it is based in the current praxis of the interpreter, as well as in his or her reflection. Such existential interpretation is critical as well as poetic, since it reaches not just for what the text of experience says but for the truth of it.

Each person's retelling of their story of remarkable change in the co-operative inquiry provided them with an occasion for further possible interpretation. The narratives reveal that whatever transformation came though the inquiry, it was not only or primarily from conscious analysis, but also from a poetic or contemplative attending to their experience and their life narrative. In so far as "narration preserves the meaning behind us, so that we can have meaning before us" (Ricoeur, 1984: 22), the co-researchers' autobiographical learning generated a new composition of their life story.

The critical hermeneutics of Paul Ricoeur explores what is yet-to-be-said in text and actions by combining the distance of critical reflection with the proximity of poetic understanding. Thus, there is disclosed what yet may be part of the meaning of an action or text. The author's self-interpreting reaches to achieve the continuing creative reordering of the life story.

CONCLUSION

An odd couple, imagining and critical refection, live in the house of autobiography where lives and their stories are composed. Skirting the threshold of the unconscious underworld, imagining brings home shady friends such as dreams, questions, and flashes of insight. Critical reflection meets them courteously, but with some caution. The odd couple find each other's friends strange and even hard to bear, but some times they throw a party which brings them and all their friends together. Then, the conversation is lively and robust; it forms and reforms their partnership through understanding, choice and change.

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Voluntary Organizations and Nonformal Adult Education in Hungary: Professionalization and the Discourse of Deficiency

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This paper explores issues of professionalization and the discourse of deficiency in Hungarian voluntary organizations and nonformal adult education. The argument is made that transformational adult education, e.g., Freire and Mezirow would be useful to dispel the myth of individual deficiencies.

Introduction

Dramatic political and economic change invokes a social response inextricably bound to a society's political, economic, cultural, and social history. Foundations of cultural traditions, the source of a population's identity, are weakened as the state encroaches further into the private lives of its citizens seeking new dimensions to co-opt in order to control. As cultural currency is diminished and traditions atomized, the state must keep pace with new demands on its economic currency as this, above all else, becomes the most highly valued currency in the modern state. The failure of the state to meet these new expectations provokes a "legitimation crisis" (Habermas, 1975) often reflected in citizens' increased "efforts at participation and the plethora of alternative models-especially in cultural spheres" (p. 72).

Hungary provides a dramatic case in point. The demise of the authoritarian state-socialist regime after 40 oppressive years resulted in democratic elections in 1990. Voluntary organizations i.e. the types of alternative models eluded to by Habermas, exploded on to the Hungarian scene. From fewer than 8000 in 1989, Hungary today boasts between 30,000-40,000 registered voluntary organizations (Hegyesi, 1992; Kuti, 1993; Les, 1994; Research Project on Hungarian Nonprofit Organizations, 1991) .

Houben (1990) suggests that these organizations, while essential, are not a sufficient condition for participation in society. He argues that the key to meaningful participation lies in nonformal adult education organized within voluntary organizations. Hungarian adult educator Basel (1992, p. 68) supports this argument by specifically calling upon "nonformal education and voluntary associations [to provide] the various forms of adult education experience, learning, awareness raising, and empowerment" necessary for active participation in society.

This paper will highlight two key issues which emerged from data collected to discover, from the Hungarian perspective, the role of and relationship between nonformal adult education and voluntary organizations in the growth and elaboration of Hungarian civil society after 40 years of state socialism has been removed. They are: 1) the professionalization of voluntary organizations through nonprofit management training; and 2) the "discourse of deficiency" Hungarian adult educators and voluntary organization leaders used to describe program participants and the population at large.

Data for this research was collected in Hungary by conducting in-depth interviews with individuals from over 25 organizations. Extensive field notes and debriefing with interpreters provided insight into the cultural context. The organizations which participated in this study fall into three general categories: voluntary organizations, academic institutions, and government institutions.

Civil Society

A visual representation of the social model with the most currency today is the triangle model constituted by civil society, the market, and the state. Civil society is often defined in two ways: 1) the types of organizations which comprise it e.g. voluntary associations, independent universities, publishing houses, trade unions, judicial systems, family, and community 2) attitudes and behaviors e.g. self-responsibility, trust, liberal thinking, tolerance, and interest representation (Ignatieff, 1995; Tandon, 1991; Weiner, 1991). The concept of civil society has classical origins and figures prominently in the works of Locke, Hegel, Marx, and Gramsci. The nature of civil society varies by degree between countries dependent upon the cultural, economic, historical, political, and social traditions held by each.

Voluntary Organizations and Weber's Theory of Social Organization

As this study focuses on voluntary organizations as part of civil society, Max Weber's theory of social organization provides a useful way to conceptualize how they function in society. "Associations" are a basic category of social organization of which the "rules restrict, or exclude, those outside of it" and whose leaders and executive staff enforce the rules and regulations (# 12, ll-2-4, 1978, p. 33). By virtue of an executive staff, voluntary associations are to some extent authoritarian (# 16.2, ll-1-2, 1978, p. 39). An association is "voluntary" when "the established set of regulations...claim validity only for those who have entered into membership of the association through personal choice" (# 15, ll-4-7, Weber, 1978, p. 37).

To illustrate the point, one can compare the extensive bureaucracy of any large national association e.g. the American Medical Association with the rather informal local garden club. However, both are voluntary associations and as such are subject to administrative constraints and an element of authoritarianism.

Voluntary Organizations in a Hungarian Context

It is a mistake to assume that the characteristics of voluntary organizations are universally defined, they are not. For example, in Hungary foundations tend to be grant seeking, service providers rather than grantmaking organizations common in the West. However, similar to the West, the range of voluntary organization activities is almost limitless. Their overall purpose tends to be other than profit making and organization leadership frequently solicits contributions from private sources as well as seeks special consideration from the government in the form of favorable tax laws and subsidies. Voluntary organizations are often considered "bastions of democracy" and sites where citizens can learn democracy through participation.

Professionalization

As early as 1991, George Soros[1] claimed of the many Hungarian organizations he financed that "we must abandon the spirit of volunteerism that characterized the foundations in their heyday and replace it by professionalism" (p. 142). He stands with many others who disregard experiential and prior knowledge in the quest for professionalism. Thematically, professionalism ranked high among the organizations which participated in this study is pervasively addressed in the Hungarian literature (Autonomia Alapitvany, 1993; Biernaczky, 1993; Biernaczky and Rabi, 1992; Civil Society Development Program, 1995; Csako et. al., 1995; Hungarian Folk High School Society, 1995; Mero, 1995/6; Nonprofit Information and Training Center Foundation, 1996; Siegel and Yancey, 1992; Utzschneider; 1996).

Professionalization of a certain field rests upon two major characteristics: 1) the identification of a specialized body of knowledge; and 2) the training of practitioners (Cervero, 1988; Courtenay, 1990; Illich, 1978; Van Til, 1988; Wilson, 1993). The introduction of a distinct body of knowledge into the university environment further signals that a particular area of practice is actively seeking legitimation and "professional" status.

The data revealed a significant trend towards professionalization in Hungarian voluntary organizations in the form of language, the emergence of nonprofit management training organizations[2] , and the introduction of such in academic institutions. An obvious example of a "specialized body of knowledge" is the appearance of a code or unique discourse only accessible to an elite group. For example, interview participants facilely used Western jargon and acronyms such as "NGOs" (nongovernment organizations), "QUANGOs" (quasi-nongovernment organizations), and "S.W.O.T." (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) analyses.[3] For those not yet fluent in the language of voluntary organizations, i.e. most of the population in Hungary, the emergent language of the field will render the discourse inaccessible to most. Further, at the time of this research, three such academic programs were in the implementation stage.

A Critique of Professionalization

Foucault argues that specialized organizations, especially academic institutions, invite certain controversial topics which gain public attention into the university setting "to honor it and disarm it." In this way, the bureaucrats not only control the discourse, they legitimize it, sanction it, and professionalize it.

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[1] George Soros emigrated as a young Jewish refugee from Hungary to England in 1947; in 1956 he settled in the United States (Soros Foundations, 1994). Today, he is "a billionaire financier", "hedge fund king" and "modern Carnegie" who earned approximately US $ 1.49 billion in 1993 (Greene, 1994; Jereski, 1993). From earnings on his investments, he "has given or pledged more than US $ 1 billion to establish one of the largest networks of nonprofit institutions created by anyone since Carnegie" (Greene, 1994, p. 1).

[2] In a North American context nonprofit management is defined by a prescribed set of skills and knowledge deemed necessary to successfully operate a voluntary organization, where "successfully operate" refers to increased efficiency and productivity and decreased cost. For example: finance; organizational and program development; fund development; marketing; public relations; and strategic planning (Drucker, 1990; Ellis, 1993; Northwestern University Kellogg School of Management, 1995; Siegel and Yancey, 1992; Van Til, 1988; Wilbur, et. al., 1994).

[3] S.W.O.T. is a strategic planning tool included on the nonprofit management training agendas of two training organizations in Hungary.

Likewise, Ivan Illich (1978) and John McKnight (1978) sharply critique the professions and the notion of professionalization. The following excerpt is representative of the tone which Illich takes towards the concept of professionals:

> "From merchant-craftsman or learned adviser, the professional has mutated into a crusading and commandeering philanthropist... [who] assert[s] secret knowledge...which only they have the right to dispense" (Illich, 1978, p. 19).

Professionals deem some information too sophisticated for laypersons who in turn must subordinate themselves to professionals in order to obtain certain knowledge.

McKnight (1978) delivers an equally harsh critique of professionals especially relevant to this study because he focuses on service providing organizations. He argues that all "professional" help assumes the might and right of the individual professional. The (mis)use of democratic language such as "group-oriented services...and community-oriented services" fails to disguise the role of the deified professional (1978, p. 83).

What began in Hungary as the spontaneous association of a few people, "like in the fairy tales," is being subjected to professionalization as seen in the growth of Western-style nonprofit management training programs. Kulich admonishes that such programs may be the "new panacea, if not a new shibboleth" for the many challenges facing Hungarian voluntary organizations today (1995, p. 90). With the uncritical adoption of such programs, the particularly Hungarian experience is devalued and substituted with prescribed and decontextualized curriculums. Organizational lessons learned, such as "no more top down for civil organizations" are plowed under "official knowledge" and approved technique.

Issues surrounding professionalization also impact nonformal adult education and are addressed in the next section.

Life After the Revolution: The Discourse of Deficiency

Hungarian adult educators overwhelmingly refer to their program participants or the public at large in negative terms i.e. as incomplete persons. By all accounts, Hungarians resemble the walking wounded plagued by deformed self-perceptions which impede their ability to navigate the complexities of daily life (Basel, 1993; Bibo, 1995; Fodor & Kovacs, 1991; Frentzel-Zagorska, 1992; Hanak 1992; Harangi, 1992; Reuters, 1996; Toth, 1991; Toma, 1988).[4] Captured in phrases such as "they lost their capacity" and "they don't know how to solve their own problems", the discourse of deficiency was most obvious in a pyramid shaped individual and community development model based on a series of individual and community deficiencies. The assumption here is that deficiency needs development. Starting at the base and moving upwards, the pyramid was divided into the following categories: "lack of confidence, lack of personal connection, lack of cooperation, lack of knowledge and information, and lack of capital" (Koles, date unknown, p. 8).

From these examples, the focus is clearly on the individual. McKnight's

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[4] The suicide rate in Hungary is second to none in the world; levels of alcoholism and cardiac arrest lag not far behind.

(1978) argument concerning professionals (in this case adult educators), needs and deficiencies is well-taken. He argues that such a focus drives

> "the practice of placing the perceived deficiency *in* the client. While most modernized professionals will agree that individual problems develop in a socio-economic-political context, their common remedial practice isolates the individual from the context" (1978, p. 79).

Beyond the Deficiency Discourse

Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) suggest that the deficiency discourse be turned on its head in favor of an approach which considers assets over deficiencies. People are accepted for who they are not what they lack. For example, if we are speaking of a young gypsy woman in Hungary who has never been to school that "she lacks knowledge" or we can turn it around to ask "Whose knowledge does she lack?" We might continue, "What social/political/economic/structures are in place that impedes her access to the knowledge associated with power?"

These types of questions encourage individuals "to achieve a deepening awareness both of the sociocultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality." (Freire editor's notes, 1985, p. 87). Thinking this way favors a transformative adult education such as Freire's "theory of conscientization" and Mezirow's "perspective transformation." Especially useful in the Hungarian context is Freire's theory in consideration of sustaining the democratic consolidation achieved before, during and immediately after the revolution and to stave off bureaucracy (Freire, 1985, p. 85).

Mezirow's theory of "perspective transformation", although criticized for its psychological grounding, is also useful in that it acknowledges the capacity of adults to act upon, rather than be victimized by their environment (Clark, 1993; Collard and Law, 1989).

Summary

For many of the participants who contributed to this research, now is a very exciting time in Hungary. They do extraordinary work in voluntary organizations, as adult educators, or in some other capacity. There is much to be done and many feel the opportunity to shape the world around them. This paper brings to light some of the issues surrounding the adoption of Western-style management philosophies into new voluntary organizations. It cautions against the pitfalls of professionalization. Likewise, professionalization in adult education was also addressed. Hungarian adult educators are encouraged to look at those with whom they work in a new way by moving beyond the discourse of deficiency.

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Humanism and Individualism: Maslow and His Critics

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Abstract: Using broad-based literature, this study explores Abraham Maslow s humanistic psychology within the contexts of ideological criticism, 20th century U.S. adult education philosophies, and the theoretical issue of philosophical categories.

Humanistic psychology at mid-century in the U.S. had a significant influence in subsequent decades on education at all levels, humanistic education being an extension of earlier progressive education, particularly of the learner-centeredness emphasis. In a study of research citations in adult education from 1968 to 1977 (Boshier & Pickard, 1979), Maslow is one of the most cited authors–his work on motivation and self-actualization having an impact on theoretical assumptions. And in their current edition, Elias and Merriam (1995) see the enormous impact of andragogy and self-directed learning as rooted in the humanistic philosophy of Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow.

Although such impact continues, criticism of humanistic psychology and humanistic education has mounted in scholarly discourse in recent last decades, mirroring current movements such as critical theory and postmodernism. Marxist critics target Maslow in the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, education scholars like Bowers (1987) capture Rogers as an uncomplicated romantic, while critics of mainstream adult education (e.g., Muller, 1992; Pratt, 1993) take apart Knowles assumptions about individual autonomy and their roots in humanistic psychology.

The goals of this paper are: 1) to analyze the points of contention concerning the individual/society relationship as they are revealed in Maslow s key assumptions and those of his critics; and 2) to probe a comparison with old and new movements, key authors, and philosophical frameworks in 20th century U.S. adult education.

This study–which follows our earlier work contrasting Maslow with Rogers and Knowles (Podeschi & Pearson, 1987)–involves a theoretical framework that combines philosophical analysis with historical and cultural dimensions. For example, Maslow s writings are interpreted within the historical context of the time, with humanistic psychology and humanistic adult education viewed within the context of U.S. mainstream culture and its dominant values. The selected literature falls into two primary categories: 1) the published works of Maslow (e.g., 1962) and his private writings published posthumously–see Pearson (1994); and 2) pertinent literature used to measure Maslow s philosophy of the individual with other authors spanning the century.

Other literature serves as background in analyzing our own theoretical framework, which receives focus in the concluding section. Besides clarifying Maslow s assumptions through measuring him with critics and influential authors and movements, the significance of this study is in calling attention to the vulnerability of overgeneralizing categories of philosophy of adult education—whether *Liberal, Progressive, Behaviorist, Humanist*, or *Radical*. Whereas the categorizing of Elias and Merriam (1980, 1995) provide an introductory grasp of assumptions, there is potential danger of fencing off schools of philosophy without adequate recognition of the contrast inside, and the fluidity between, the fences.

Maslow and Marxist Critics

Maslow s psychology is characterized by core elements which have remained at the heart of humanism in spite of historical permutations. These assumptions of human-centeredness, a sense of personal autonomy, the idea of human dignity, the principle of virtuous action, and a sense of personal responsibility lie at the heart of Maslow s work. Said another way, four intertwining concepts form the set of assumptions underlying his humanistic psychology: the idea of a *self*, capable of *growth, responsible* for what one becomes, and capable of influencing social *progress*.

As humanistic psychology and education grew in prominence, criticism rooted in Marxist social and economic analysis took shape, much of it directed at Maslow. The overall point of contention for these critics is their charge that the excessive individualism of humanistic psychology and education is essentially elitist. There are weaker and stronger versions of this criticism. Some critics argue that Maslow is unconsciously naive about elitist elements in his theories. As one critic poses: ". . . *what* real individuals, living in *what* real societies, working at *what* real jobs, and earning *what* real income have any chance at all of becoming self-actualizers?" (Lethbridge, 1986, p. 90). Meanwhile, other critics assign Maslow a much more malevolent role, seeing Maslow s psychology as a "new and seductive Social Darwinism," capitalist thought taken to its logical extreme (Shaw & Colimore, 1988, p. 56).

Whether of the weaker or stronger variety, these critics base their arguments on a set of assumptions opposed to the dominant humanistic view of the nature of *the individual*. They particularly reject any notion of an autonomous self, emphasizing the determination of macro socioeconomic forces on the shaping of any individual. In this set of assumptions, human nature is human *only* by virtue of the society. Such a position, based on the belief that the individual has no identity of self apart from society, also includes a belief in the perfectibility of humans, through a sweeping revolution in political, economic, and social arrangements, a toppling of inequitable macro structures of power and oppression. Marxist critics blast Maslow s commitment to incremental progress and find the notion of personal responsibility to be only a tool of capitalistic oppressors.

Certainly, these critics oppose Maslow and humanistic adult education on the basic assumptions of self, growth, responsibility, and progress. For them, the issue is clear: human nature is social in origin, historically developed, and not in any sense inherent in any particular individual. Their purpose of adult education would be to achieve equality through re-shaping human nature that has been historically determined by those in power.

In response to his Marxist critics on the core assumptions, Maslow (1971) rejects the critics either-or characterizations. He does not argue against the idea that human nature (the self) is a social process of becoming; he does argue that that is only one part of the story: "Culture is only a necessary cause of human nature, not a sufficient cause. But so also is our biology only a necessary . . . and not a sufficient cause . . . (p. 156). Maslow locates responsibility in both the individual and in social conditions. In reacting to the Marxian stance against incremental progress, he sees human nature far too complex and varied to allow for perfection. For Maslow, both progress *and* regress are possible, the Marxists erring in holding out for perfection: "Giving up hope for progress almost certainly means regression and worsening," he writes, "So in [my] hope and theory, progress is itself a dynamic determinant" (Lowry, 1979, pp. 383-384).

Postmodern Criticism of Humanism

Postmodern criticisms, varied enough to be called postmodern*isms*, are devoted to dissolving the foundational assumptions underlying all 20th century thought and center most specifically on the central assumption of an essential inner human nature. This analysis will spring from the perspectives of Michel Foucault, but not imply that he speaks for all of postmodern thought. Whereas the humanistic individual is at least potentially capable of making him- or herself a better person, of fulfilling the highest possibilities of an intrinsic inner nature, of choosing the highest human values, a postmodernist like Foucault denies any foundational, universal or normative assumptions about our nature and rejects any notion of a self or of self-actualization.

Opposing what he calls the "California cult of the self," Foucault views the humanistic individual as only a consequence of practices of power--not Maslow's autonomous individual with an intrinsic nature. Every individual is at once both an object and a subject of power in all relationships (Rabinow & Dreyfus, 1983).

For postmodernists, beliefs in an intrinsic human nature only reflect how individuals have been enculturated into thinking of themselves as certain kinds of persons. So, beliefs about "masculinity" or "femininity"--supposedly embedded in a holistic concept of an intrinsic self which needs to be discovered--reflect power relationships in reality. Processes such as psychoanalysis, meditation, and confession through which such discovery is to take place, are only the practices of power that hide from us the arbitrary nature of these constructed selves.

Foucault describes how, in our current "regime of truth," people have gradually come to be defined--and to define themselves--by certain classes of behavior. These subjectivizing processes reflect a form of "power [that] applies itself to immediate everyday life, which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own [intrinsic] identity, [and] imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him" (Rabinow & Dreyfus, 1983, p. 212). We are each tied to our own identity by a conscience and by self-knowledge–all constructed for us by practices of power. Such practices come together, for example, in educational institutions through the concept of The Normal. Categorized hierarchically, differentiated around a norm, we are punished by sanction or exclusion when we deviate from the norm (Foucault, 1979).

In the postmodernisms, then, the notion of Maslow s *self* is flatly rejected. Change occurs, but notions of *growth* and *progress* are rendered meaningless. *Responsibility* in its humanistic sense drops from the vocabulary, being one of the practices of power that creates individuals and humanistic truth–dangerous illusions. For Maslow, such a totalizing analysis around power relationships would be an excessively limited view of human reality, especially in its denial of any individual freedom to effect meaningful change.

Comparative Discussion

There are two dimensions to our discussion: 1) how our framework of philosophical analysis of adult education differs from more typical approaches; and 2) how we see Maslow in comparative context with authors and movements in 20th century philosophy of adult education.

No author in adult education (including us) can escape the underlying role of their assumptions in any theory building, criticism, or analysis. Our theoretical framework emphasizes the cultural fluidity between movements; for example, the effect of modern mainstream individualism on both *Behavioristic* and *Humanistic* and adult education (see Podeschi, 1986). And we assume that particular historical contexts influence authors, for example, in differences between Lindeman and Knowles (see Fisher & Podeschi, 1989).

Also, we draw from Nozick (1981), who suggests that a philosophical framework *can* include mutually incompatible views if one ranks them from the standpoint of one s own assumptions. "The first ranked view is not completely adequate by itself," Nozick explains, "what it omits or distorts or puts out of focus cannot be added compatibly, but must be brought out and highlighted by another incompatible view, itself (even more) inadequate alone" (p. 22). Such an approach focuses on incompatibilities inside categories of philosophy of adult education, as well as philosophical fluidity among categories.

This direction may sound like the eclectic position that Knowles takes, for example, in straddling both humanistic and behavioristic philosophies. But Knowles integration is one of methodology rather than any ranking of views rooted in assumptions. Although Maslow probes philosophical premises more than Knowles, he never uncovers fully his own first ranked premise: *science*. Believing that social science can catch its own philosophical tail and find those values best for humankind, Maslow's deepest faith is in a synthesis between philosophy and science–one without inadequacy (Podeschi, 1983).

Also neglected by Maslow–as well as by most authors in U.S. adult education–are micro cultural contexts of power. As Fiske (1993) explains, power is fluid and works through alliances of social interests concerning specific issues in particular conditions–in spite of philosophical incompatibilities. Any social theory that is grounded in just categorical difference will miss or marginalize these fluid micro realities–whereas a purely postmodern theory may miss or marginalize the struggles within this fluidity. For example, Marxists may see class conflict from such a macro, top-down view so as to miss the fluidity of micro, bottom-up power, whereas postmodernists may marginalize the class conflict within this fluidity. While Maslow tends to glide over both of these dimensions of power, Rogers and Knowles have neither in their sights.

Although Maslow gives less attention to the powerful influences of macro culture than Dewey and Lindeman, he shares with both progressives a mediated faith in individual freedom. But whereas Dewey attempted to integrate two strands of progressivism–*Developmentalists* and *Social Reconstructionists* (Muller, 1992), Maslow fits close to the first strand. Knowles also fits close to the *Developmentalists*, but in addition he reflects the *Social Efficiency* strand of progressivism.

This difference, inherent in their aims of adult education, is one reason why Maslow would lean away from Knowles and his avid followers in the debate about andragogy (Pratt, 1993). Also, although Maslow s focus is on the individual, he does not have the same degree of faith in individual freedom as Knowles. Ironically, as Muller (1992) delineates, Knowles' priority of social efficiency–as well as his ignoring of societal structures–foster a mainstream conformity rooted in autonomous *individualism*. Maslow, on the other hand, carries a

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genuine priority for *individuality* (uniqueness)–even though he neglects some of the cultural layers within which it needs to play out.

Our position is that the similarities as well as the differences between Maslow, his critics, and other humanists can be sorted out more clearly if the neglected distinction between *individualism* and *individuality* is put into focus (Grant, 1986; Pearson, 1994). If such a distinction is made, the prime target of the critics of Maslow may be seen as individualism, while a prime developmental goal for Maslow is individuality–although he mixed it with ingredients of individualism. Whereas some critics tend to put the psychological concept of the individual out of focus in stressing cultural forces, Maslow focuses his own spectacles on individual efforts to resist cultural pressures. Although his lens are limited, his journals make clear that he became increasingly preoccupied in the 1960s with social and political forces, concerned with shortcomings in his own theoretical framework and putting increasing emphasis on social psychology. In these journal writings–not long before his sudden death in 1970–Maslow s language sounds a lot like his critics descriptions of individualism, using terms such as rivalry, competition, personal chauvinism, money, power status, domination, manipulation, and Social Darwinsim (Lowry, 1979). In contrast, such forces in the 1960s appear to have had little influence on Knowles, while having consequential effect on leaders of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education–see Podeschi (1991, 1994).

At the same time, Maslow kept intact a sense of moral agency, not falling into nihilism. Although he confuses the languages of individualism and individuality, his insistence on some intrinsic human attributes and a need for growth argue against the contention that all is power relationships. Whereas ideas of an essential self and of human growth can be used as a mechanism of control, they need to be deconstructed in a way that heeds Alcoff s (1988) warning that deconstructing everything leaves us nothing but negatives. If Maslow would have lived longer, he may have continued his growth in seeing the dangers of individualism while providing space for individuality and for responsibility to (not for) others.

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A Sociocultural Perspective of Knowing: A Grounded Theory of Epistemological Development of Malaysian Women

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The purpose of this study was to identify and describe the epistemological development of Malaysian women in Peninsular Malaysia. Based on constant comparison analysis of 14 in-depth interviews, a substantive theory of epistemological development was identified, including the process of that development and cultural factors that promote changes in epistemology.

Introduction

Learning and development do not occur in a mental vacuum; cognition is structured by an individual's sociocultural milieu (Lave, 1993). But the study of adult learning and development, particularly cognitive development, has focused mostly on the psychological aspects of human change over time, ignoring this sociocultural context (Dannefer, 1984; Merriam & Caffarella, 1991).

Epistemological development, concerned with how individuals know their reality and how they construct and use that knowledge, is particularly susceptible to the influence of context. Theorists are beginning to question prior assumptions about the nature of personal epistemology (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Luttrell, 1989). How individualized—or perhaps, social and cultural—is epistemological development? What factors stimulate more mature ways of knowing? What is the role of education in epistemological development?

Theories of adult development have failed to provide a comprehensive view of human change over time. In particular, the dominant literature generally has excluded the female experience of development (Belenky et al., 1986; Gilligan, 1982/1993), as well as the impact of sociocultural factors on the process of that development (Dannefer, 1984). The gender bias in traditional models of human development has been well-documented. Women's developmental experiences generally have been subsumed within male-biased theories of development (Belenky et al., 1986; Gilligan, 1982/1993). Recent feminist approaches to this topic have broadened our understanding about human cognitive development by including the experiences of some women (Belenky et al., 1986; Luttrell, 1989).

Cognitive processes are played out in a sociocultural context that incorporates culture, social interaction, history, setting, and individual psychology. But the study of cognitive development has focused mostly on the psychological aspects of changes in cognition over time, ignoring this sociocultural context (Dannefer, 1984; Merriam & Caffarella, 1991). This traditional view of learning and development as purely psychological is giving way to a more complex and contextual understanding of cognition (Lave, 1993).

To adequately study the phenomenon of human change over time, then, the experiences of diverse individuals should be included in the canon of adult development. Malaysia, because of its pluralistic society, was chosen for this cross-cultural study of human development. The majority of Malaysians are Malay, about 30 percent are Chinese, and almost 10 percent are Indian. Each ethnic group has a relatively intact subculture, co-existing within the larger national culture.

The purpose of this study was to identify and describe the epistemological development of Malaysian women in Peninsular Malaysia. Research questions included: (a) What is the process of epistemological development among Malaysian women? (b) What is the role of culture in defining that process? and (c) What is the role of educative activity, both formal and informal, in defining that process?

Methodology

The phenomenon of epistemological development was investigated from the perspective of cultural constructivism. Because of the lack of cross-cultural or transcultural theory concerning women's epistemological development, this investigation was a grounded theory study.

Fourteen interviews were conducted with Malaysian women from Malay, Chinese, Indian, and multi-ethnic backgrounds. Theoretical sampling guided sample selection, while the general criteria for inclusion were nationality, ethnicity, gender, and educational level. The women in this study represent diverse religious backgrounds, including Muslim, Buddhist, Christian, and Hindu. Their ages range from 23 to 52, and half has considerable international experience. The educational level of the participants is quite varied, including drop-outs, high school graduates, and university graduates. The participants are employed in diverse careers—about half are university lecturers and professors, three are full-time students, two are housekeepers, and one is a police officer. The semi-structured interview guide for this study was adapted from Belenky et al. (1986), but the guide was modified extensively during a pilot study and throughout the study.

Findings

Based on constant comparative analysis of the data, the process of epistemological development and the factors that promote that development were identified, resulting in a substantive theory of epistemological development.

The Process of Epistemological Development

Culture provides a blueprint of expected behavior and affect, creating a cultural model of self. This model of self incorporates both a sense of identity (self portrait) and control of that identity (epistemological control). This cultural model of self is a template for a woman's personal model of self, regulating to some extent her options about her personal sense of identity and control of that identity. For the women in this study, the process of epistemological development is the definition of one's personal model of self *in relation* to one's cultural model of self. This process of epistemological development involves three phases: distinguishing a personal model of self from the cultural model of self, negotiating conflict between the models, and defining the personal model of self.

Distinguishing a personal model of self from the cultural model of self. Culture dictates expected behavior and affect through the construction of a cultural model of self which frames individual behavior and affect as normal or deviant. But a woman's sense of self is not a pure reflection of the cultural model. Aishwarya notes that Indian culture shapes a woman's life from beginning to end, yet she acknowledges her own personal model of self. "Basically, Indians practice arranged marriages. I come from a very strict family, and it is expected there will be arranged marriages. . . I am quite an outspoken person since I was young. So when they started arranging, I said, 'Not for me!'"

Zain also recognizes the influence of family in determining her own sense of self. "I guess my identity is very much tied up with my parents. I don't have my own family that I've set up myself, so I'm very much tied up with what happens to my natal family." But Zain, like the other women in this study, does not conform completely to the model of self exampled by their culture. At 36, she remains unmarried while pursuing her doctoral degree.

Negotiating conflict between the models of self. The cultural model of self is a benchmark of how a woman is expected to define herself and her identity. But no-one in this study accepted the cultural model of self without changes. Sometimes these changes were compromises between a woman and her culture; sometimes there was a direct confrontation with cultural expectations. Divergent viewpoints are incorporated into a personal model of self which blends sociocultural expectations with individual ideology. The personal model of self, then, emerges in a conflictual relationship with cultural expectations.

As a young woman, Noor was dissatisfied with cultural expectations of girls and women, particularly in her own family. "I realized there was always this discrepancy within the family and how different people had different privileged positions. And I think I became aware of my gender then." This conflict, Noor says, compelled her to become independent and resolute. "I realized then you have to live your life on your own and fight for your own survival. The kind of lessons I learned form my society really taught me a lot about fighting for survival as a woman."

Geetha, whose family was arranging her marriage at the time of the study, is hoping to complete her education before she marries because "the culture is such that, since you have to be married by a certain age, from about 20 [years old] until 40 [years old] a lot or your role is in the house."

Noor confronted her cultural model of self, deciding to seek an abortion while pregnant with her third child. "I went to several clinics, and they told me they didn't want to do [the abortion] because I was a Muslim woman and didn't want to tamper with religion." Seen also dealt with the issue of abortion and religious power and authority. After counseling a pregnant fifteen-year-old student who was a victim of incestuous rape, she decided to by-pass religious authority and arrange an abortion for the girl. "Of course abortion is illegal in this country, but we decided that sometimes you just have to do things. . . . So we had to take a hard position, though we knew we were doing something illegal."

The emerging personal model of self is a process of negotiation. Each of these women negotiates which traditions she will accept. For some, that acceptance is a compromise—Geetha will allow her culture to dictate her program of study and her impending marriage, but she will step outside of tradition to further her education. For others, tradition and custom are to be constantly questioned—Noor despises conformity to a cultural identity.

Defining the personal model of self. The negotiation of this conflict results in a choice to adopt one's cultural model of self without question, adapt one's personal model of self in a compromise with the cultural model of self, or construct one's personal model of self that ignores cultural expectations. Only two of the women in this study adopted their cultural models of self. Janet believes that "the responsibilities of a woman are to take care of the family." She adds that "Chinese people don't have this idea of equality. . . . We Chinese, we have to serve the man. It is our Chinese way." Like Janet, Fatimah believes it is a woman's duty to care for her family. "We have to do our part. It doesn't matter if the husband is bad."

Most of the women in this study adapt their personal model of self, conceding some personal desires and beliefs to cultural expectations. For example, Geetha says that if her opinion disagrees with a cultural tradition, she will consider changing her opinion. "I like some things that are not part of the Indian culture, [but] I have in the past had to leave some of them because they were too contradictory."

Two of the women in this study constructed their personal models of self, disregarding cultural expectations. They are not outside of their culture; yet they do not answer to their culture. "I'm not confined by any sort of cultural boundaries," Noor claims. "I'm very marginal. Maybe because of that, I don't see myself pressured to conform to a cultural identity. I'm just what I am." Like Noor, Seen has decided that personal choice is not inferior to cultural tradition. "I'm one of those that, unless it can be justified, I will not accept anything."

Factors that Promote Epistemological Development

For the women in this study, three factors promote epistemological development: family support of education for women and girls, learning experiences, and extended international opportunities. Certain experiences stimulate epistemological development by exposing a woman to diverse ideas and lifestyles, and other experiences support epistemological development by providing an atmosphere of encouragement.

The women in this study noted three types of family support that contributed to changes in knowing: equal access to educational opportunities for girls and women, financial support for higher education, and emotional support of personal development activities. Zain's father taught her that education is her inheritance: "For my family, education is the most important thing. . . . [My father] said, 'I don't need property; the best property is education.'" Geetha, like many of the women in this study, could not have attended college without the financial support of her family. She also notes that her family encouraged her to participate in nonformal learning activities, promoting her personal development since early childhood.

Another factor that promotes epistemological development is education—formal and informal. "Education opens up the thinking," says Aishwarya, and "the thinking woman will become more exposed to the other side." Geetha agrees, claiming that education "changes your thinking." Khoo, like Aishwarya and Geetha, believes that "education is important because it constructs our thinking, our minds, especially in decision-making."

Extended international opportunities were another factor in epistemological development. Half of the women in this study had studied abroad, earning their degrees from foreign universities. For Geetha, her international experience encouraged "thinking in dual ways." Noor says her international experiences contributed to her multicultural, global perspective. Seen and Zain both describe their international experiences as a type of freedom, allowing them to disengage from social expectations. "I gave myself that space by being away from the family, being away from male control," Zain says.

A Theory of Epistemological Development

The central theme, or theoretical core, that emerged from the data is the antagonistic relationship between the cultural model of self and the personal model of self. The process of defining the personal model of self originates in conflict, but epistemological development flourishes in a supportive, nurturing environment. Exposure to diverse ideas and traditions often triggers conflict between the models of self, and those women who have supportive families or some other supportive network feel safe to explore nontraditional viewpoints.

The first category in the process of epistemological development, distinguishing the personal model of self from the cultural model of self, begins with an awareness that culture structures an ideal model of self. The women in this study came to realize that culture defines appropriate affect and behavior, and that they are expected to think and behave according to this cultural model of self. The two properties of this category are (a) organization of the self portrait and (b) location of epistemological control. The self portrait incorporates a woman's sense of identity and is organized into dominant and subordinate identities. Control of the self portrait is manifested as epistemological authority (the right to define one's identity) and epistemological power (the ability to define the behavioral and affective dimensions of one's identity).

The second category, negotiating conflict between the models of self, involves confronting cultural expectations about appropriate behavior and affect. The two properties of this category are (a) conflict between the personal and cultural models of self and (b) conflict about the location of epistemological authority and power. Conflict between the personal and cultural models of self concerns reorganization of the self portrait, with gender and personal aspects of the identity displacing the culturally-dominant relational identity. Conflict about the location of epistemological authority and power involves internalizing or sharing control of the identity.

The third category, defining the personal model of self, results in a personal epistemology. The two properties of this category are (a) strategies for defining the personal model of self and (b) the nature of epistemology associated with these strategies. Three strategies were identified: adopt, adapt, or construct. Adoption of one's cultural model of self involves little or no reflection and results in no epistemological change. Women who adapt or construct their personal models of self negotiate a new epistemology. The findings emphasize development within each strategy, not development from one strategy to another—they are different paths of epistemological development.

The nature of epistemology associated with these three strategies reflects the individual's perception of authority, truth, and knowing. Development toward more inclusive, more complex ways of knowing does not occur if a woman chooses to adopt her cultural model of self. However, epistemological development does occur whether a woman chooses to adapt or construct her personal model of self—the process of development is defined by the strategy.

These findings suggest the following hypotheses:

1) Diverse learning experiences and extended international opportunities, along with lifelong family support of education for girls and women, foster

epistemological development. Women who are highly educated and have studied abroad are more likely to question tradition and the cultural model of self, concluding that reality is—to some degree—culturally constructed.

2) Points of conflict within the self portrait that involve the culturally-dominant identity are more likely to trigger epistemological development than points of conflict between culturally-subordinate aspects of the identity. Women who have experienced conflict between gender and personal aspects of their identity (for example, gender discrimination at work) acknowledge the conflict, but it does not affect their personal epistemology. However, a woman whose relational identity conflicts with either gender or personal aspects of her identity feels compelled to choose between them.

3) Because the personal and cultural models of self continue to interact, the personal model of self is subject to a lifetime process of review and redefinition. Culture and tradition continue to confront the newly-defined personal model of self in this cyclical perspective of epistemological development. At any point, a woman may choose to reorganize the components of her self portrait or relocate epistemological control of her identity. This action would lead to negotiation of the conflict and redefinition of the personal model of self.

Discussion

Epistemological development has been identified in prior studies as unidirectional, linear, and hierarchical. The findings of this study allow for more than one path to development; and for the women in this study, the process of epistemological development is cyclical, not linear. Further, the value of a particular way of knowing is found to be in relation to its context—adapting or constructing a personal model of self occurs within an arena of personal and cultural influences. Further, this study provides a cultural perspective of changes in epistemology and includes cross-cultural experiences of epistemological development. Through this study, the participants defined their own epistemology and the cultural factors that influence that epistemology. Not surprisingly, this study supports the idea that learning fosters epistemological development. Also, this study found that international experiences and study abroad influence epistemological development.

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KNOWLEDGE AS "QUALITY NON-CONFORMANCE": A CRITICAL CASE STUDY OF ISO 9000 AND ADULT EDUCATION IN THE WORKPLACE.

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Abstract: This study examined the rationale behind the adoption of ISO 9000 standards and determined the ways in which knowledge was conceived and used. The study focused on the impact of the process seeking ISO 9000 registration and the way in which learning processes come to be defined as defective.

Introduction: Adult educators have increasingly become concerned with the ideological dimensions of learning in the workplace (Briton, 1996; Foley, 1994; Gowen, 1992; Hart, 1992; Howell, Preston, Schied & Carter, 1996; Kincheloe, 1995; Rubenson, 1992). Most of these concerns have focused on workplace learning conceptualized as a process of human resource development or, more recently, human performance technology. American businesses have turned to quality measurement processes which formalize and standardize the production of knowledge in the workplace. Interwoven within the various quality management movements and closely tied to so-called "postindustrial" forms of production, these processes, as certified by an international quality standards organization, view learning as part of production (Carter, 1994; Hunt, 1993; Rothwell, Sullivan & Mclean, 1995).

This paper is an overview of a larger ongoing study that examined the role of ISO 9000 in controlling and shaping learning and work processes in business and industry. These standards, identified as the 9000 series in the jargon of ISO, have become increasingly important and influential in shaping educational and training activities for American businesses. Literature suggests that especially for those businesses involved in international trade, ISO 9000 certification will become virtually mandatory early in the next century (Clements, 1993). Indeed, there is every reason to suspect that educational institutions will also begin to adopt ISO standards (Doherty, 1995; Tovey, 1994).

Methodology: Since space restrictions prevent a detailed discussion of the project's research design, this is necessarily a brief overview. The study was conducted over a two year period using ethnographic methods of participant observation, informal and formal interviews, and other unobtrusive methods of data collection. The research team first collected and analyzed primary corporation ISO documentation including training manuals, strategic planning documents, and ISO 9000 work procedures.

In line with Spradley (1980), the research team's participation ranged along the continuum of degrees of involvement and types of participation from moderate involvement and participation to high involvement and complete immersion. One research team member participated in the ISO training process and implementation over the total period of ISO registration. In a series of visits to the plant, researchers conducted open-ended informal interviews on the shop floor. In-depth interviews based on phenomenological techniques were conducted off-site. Purposeful sampling was used to select the formal interviewees (Patton, 1990). Corporate documentation, interviews (both formal and informal) and participant observation provided researchers with a thick and rich description of the plant's climate and worker culture (Seidman, 1991). Taken together these sources provided a holistic picture of the working life at the company during the ISO 9000 registration process. Trustworthiness was ensured by source and analyst triangulation. Data were sorted, coded, and interpreted on an ongoing basis throughout the two year period (Kincheloe, 1991; Patton, 1990; Spradley, 1980).

ISO 9000 in the Global Context: ISO 9000 standards, from the Greek 'iso' meaning equal, were designed to equalize quality systems within multi-site organizations, multi-national corporations, and across national borders. ISO theoretically assisted in the pursuit of high quality products at low costs within a global economic structure. The assumptions behind these standards were that having one basic level of quality worldwide allowed for the interchangeability of parts for multiple vendors, keeping prices low and allowing for flexibility in manufacturing processes. Meeting ISO 9000 standards, it was assumed, meant that an organization, by listening to its customers, would achieve a high degree of customer satisfaction through uniform methods of quality assurance. The standards themselves focused on augmenting the level of quality delivered to customers while pursuing economic efficiency. Thus, if there were good quality assurance processes in place, good quality products would follow. Despite their origins in manufacturing, these standards are rapidly beginning to be applied to all types of non-manufacturing environments, including educational and training settings. (Frazer, 1992; Huyink & Westover, 1994; Stamatis, 1995; Taormina, 1996)

This quality standardization had its origins in World War II. Insights gleaned from failure of munitions and explosives amplified the problems of having different quality and production standards for similar products. Two decades later, the European Community, incorporated those lessons into international trade agreements. In 1987, the International Organization of Standardization , located in Switzerland, began to set industrial manufacturing standards for a minimal system of quality assurance that could be applied to trade world wide and released the first of the ISO registration requirements. Dealing with similar issues of quality, the United States adopted parallel standards created by the American National Standards Institute (ANSI) and the American Society for Quality Control (ASQC). (Lamprecht, 1993; Rabbit & Bergh, 1994)

The European Community justified conformity assessment as a means to ensure that products affecting health and safety that were placed on the market conformed to the requirements of member countries. ISO registration became essential for the seamless passage of goods across European borders. Therefore, contractual agreements between producers and suppliers became increasingly commonplace. To participate in the European marketplace, non-European countries have also begun seeking ISO registration (Hoyle, 1994).

Proponents of ISO 9000 claim that it is a neutral set of guidelines seeking to develop management systems that standardize quality assurance processes in the workplace. ISO standardizes by codifying how data related to quality assurance are collected and used to improve processes, reliability, business protocols, and other quality characteristics. To become ISO registered, an organization must adhere to a three-tiered documentation process. Technical, administrative, and human factors affecting the quality of products and services are systematized so that management can document that it has control of all factors affecting quality. Systems must be oriented toward the reduction, elimination, and most importantly, prevention of quality non-conformance (Kantner, 1994; Lamprecht, 1992; Peach, 1995).

ISO 9000 in the Workplace: The study took place in a northeastern manufacturing firm of a multinational corporation. The 250 person workforce was composed primarily of line workers supported by a technical group with shift and administrative management, including a quality manager. In 1992 as a part of the corporate business plan to increase trade with the EC, the company began an initiative to achieve ISO 9000 registration. The corporate leadership introduced all workers to the ISO 9000 initiative with a brief fifteen minute overview. Workers in the plant were responsible for producing level 3 work task procedures. ISO 9000 processes required level 1 documentation to describe corporate goals, level 2 to describe corporate policies and procedures, and level 3 to define work tasks in support of corporate goals, policies and procedures.

After a pre-audit, workers from all functional areas of the plant were given ten hours training on how to write standard operating instructions. Then the trained workers went back to their respective areas to codify work activities and turn them into written procedures able to be followed by new employees. ISO 9000 standards demanded that these procedures be simple, sequential, and written in a transparent manner. Ultimately through a consensual process, a single SOI was agreed upon because ISO 9000 required conformance to a single protocol for each of nearly 600 quality related tasks. The quality manager's directions to workers were, "Do what you say and say what you do."

ISO 9000's purpose was to achieve a uniform protocol reflecting how work was actually done. In reality workers composed procedures based on perceived management expectations and the templates provided by ISO 9000. For example, if workers had developed shortcuts or more efficient ways of working, these were not described because as one worker said, "it was not the way jobs were *officially* performed." Thus where ISO 9000 demanded a single way to do a task, there were many ways individual workers and different shifts *actually* did their work. Moreover, in trying to achieve consensus researchers found that decisions were made outside of the group, sometimes by the loudest voice, and only occasionally within the group.

ISO 9000 required that workers who performed quality related tasks had documentation that demonstrated they were capable of performing a task. In this case, plant trainers certified workers on the SOIs by asking questions and observing performance. Certification became a condition of employment. The two year ISO 9000 registration process concluded with a week-long review by outside auditors who announced they would recommend registration. Immediately management began a discussion on how to use ISO registration as a marketing tool.

The Irony of ISO: For line workers, there was tremendous resistance to giving up their own protocols for getting their jobs done and conforming to sterile processes. Thus for the purposes of certification they would perform the task as expected by the trainer and as specified by the procedure. However, based on the research team's observations, workers continued to perform tasks in their own improvised fashion. In fact one worker held out an SOI to a researcher, laughed and said, "Take a look at this, nobody follows these." Following procedures implied that workers knowledge became subjugated knowledge and needed to be purged from the workers cultural memory in favor of the ISO structure. When writing SOIs, workers were rigid and precise about noting every single motion, but were extremely resistant to following these procedures once written. Workers were often unable to articulate what they were actually doing because it was a foreign way of thinking about their job and because they became mired in the minutiae of the task. For example a worker with a strong quality assurance background had a hard time seeing her job as being linear or as a series of non-integrated mini-tasks. Similar to what Gowen (1992) found in her research, many workers saw their jobs holistically. ISO 9000 attempted to purge workers' way of looking at work from their personal repertoire in seeking conformance to standards.

Many technical workers, supervisory personnel, and middle managers also resisted. They expressed anger at having to be responsible for codifying procedures. They felt the ISO process interfered with real work. Whole technical areas wrote only write five or six procedures. Researchers discovered that some of the documentation, especially among the technical and supervisory personnel, was conjured up to eliminate the need to document complex problem solving skills that were not linear or sequential.

Workers told researchers that they were afraid of being watched by co-workers, supervisors, and internal quality auditors, and of losing their jobs. Thus their jobs became stage performances when workers thought they might be under observation. Much information about ISO processes had to be kept at the tips of their fingers and at the tips of their tongues. Lower level workers were particularly vulnerable to blame and subject to dismissal if something went wrong. Workers now became the keepers of standardized knowledge as well as their own unsanctioned ways of working. This was the knowledge and language of work they were reluctant to reveal during the period when job tasks were being codified.

The company's successful ISO 9000 registration was imbued with touches of irony. For example, line workers said, "I am continuing to do my job just the way I always did it. This is just window dressing." Even the plant manager spoke to this perception of ISO 9000 as window dressing by saying, "Now that we have this crap under our belt we can get down to doing the real work."

Conclusions: So what has ISO 9000 accomplished? For the company, the need to achieve ISO 9000 registration was driven by more than legal and customer requirements. It was used to clarify and advertise organizational goals by complying with internationally recognized standards that purport to identify elements of a successful quality organization. Conformity within industries also makes it easier to market products and reduces trade barriers dealing with issues of safety, communication protocols and quality standards.

In the quest to reduce product defects, the ISO 9000 registration procedure attempted to wholly integrate learning and knowledge into the production process while protecting the interests of management. Though not successful, ISO 9000 sought to formalize and appropriate worker knowledge. Thus in this quality standardization process, knowledge itself became a way to oppress and control workers. Anything outside the narrowly defined standards was considered a quality non-conformance whether it be process, procedures, or people. As Tovey has noted, "by starting with a broad meaningless notion like non-conforming product, a tendency towards de-humanising the situation is largely unavoidable" (1994, p. 73-74). Further, the study demonstrated the increasing tendency toward multinational standardization of workplace education through the ISO 9000 process. The ISO 9000 process made workers assessable, measurable, comparable, and able to be judged against international standards of "quality" as defined by corporate interests.

This study contributes to the growing critique of workplace education conceived as human resource development and human performance technology (Briton, 1996; Cunningham, 1993; Foley, 1993; Wilkinson & Willmott, 1995). The study suggests that understanding how adult education in the workplace is connected to a systematized management scheme involving psychological forms of control is under theorized. Finally, the study suggests that education in the workplace is moving towards an international standardization based on corporate notions of quality that promises to become the next wave in training and development.

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"A Room of One's Own:" A Phenomenological Investigation of Class, Age, Gender, and Politics of Institutional Change Regarding Adult Students on Campus

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Abstract

This collaborative phenomenological investigation reveals the experience of adult student advocates in a university setting. The setting was interpreted as being mediated by interlocking systems of oppression. Issues included concepts of class, age, gender, and institutional politics related to resource allocation and meaning about the nature and needs of adult students.

Introduction

It has long been recognized that colleges and universities must alter their institutional climate in order to accommodate the needs of adult students (Schlossberg, Lynch and Chickering, 1989). While change in the entire structure of programming in higher education institutions has been called for (Conrad, 1993), the development of specialized student services that focus on this population has been a primary strategy through which it is thought such transformation can begin. Successes in this area have been documented around the U.S. (Turnbull, 1989), but too little research elucidates the factors which promote or impede the transformation of traditional institutions of higher education into those which are supportive to adult, reentry, nontraditional students. Rarer still in the literature is a critique and analysis of this setting from the adult student perspective.

Rationale for the Study

According to Hatfield (1989),"the extent to which an institution is visibly and formally engaged in continuing education of adults is determined by the *perceived importance* (our emphasis) of its clientèle to the well-being of the institution and the philosophy of the institution (p. 306)." This research addresses issues of the meaning of adult students on campus, and the way in which perceptions and understandings of the adult student as "other" (Kasworm, 1993) frames programming initiatives.

Through an examination of the life world of former and current adult students at a university, this collaborative phenomenological study explores the experiences of adult student advocates engaged in the creation of a FIPSE-funded project at a mid-size, urban university in the southern region of the U.S. The project was conceptualized by and is administered by former students of that institution, and was designed to provide adult students on campus with information and advocacy services. As a result of their experiences, these former students cited the critical need for a specialized approach to programming on a campus wherein adult students were upwards of 50% of the student body. While other universities have had such programs for several years, this particular university had not yet undertaken such programming.

In funding this project, FIPSE envisioned that since former students were creators and implementors of this particular program, it would be especially successful at efforts of making change on campus for and with adult students. Unfortunately, from its inception the program met with a variety of institutional roadblocks which threatened its ability to engage in fully implementing its stated programming. Realizing that the success and integrity of the project was being compromised, the study authors began a collaborative, reflective exercise of review, introspection, discussion, and analysis in an effort to deconstruct the structural factors which were impeding development of the project.

While a few scholars have alluded to the importance of language and attitudes in relation to programming for adult students on campus (Kasworm, 1993), no study has attempted to address the way in which meanings about adult students translate into institutional practices. Utilizing this FIPSE project as a case study, this research investigates two primary questions: how do meanings about adult students translate into action or inaction within an institution? and what are the structural factors (the social order) that impede or promote the success of programming for adult students?

A second, yet equally compelling rationale for the study process was the desire to undertake an analysis of the setting that would promote a sense of empowerment and healing among the actors involved in this stymied effort, and to create an alternative, emancipatory "stock of knowledge" about adult students on campus from which creative action for change could take place (Fals Borda & Rahman, 1991). Because, as Holstein & Gubrium (1994) note, "social objects are constituted within discernibly organized circumstances (p. 268)", as former adult students, and as actors in the setting working for and with adult students, the program advocates embraced the opportunity to reflect on their role as social objects in the setting, and the way in which this duality was made problematic. Central to this reflective process was recognition of the legitimacy of their feelings, thoughts, and actions in the setting in relation to concerns about power and oppression.

The Phenomenological Method as "Demythologizer"

A participatory action research methodology (Reason, 1994) which utilized a collaborative phenomenological approach (thINQ, 1994) structured the effort to develop "emancipatory forms of knowledge" relating to the advocates' lived experience (Fals Borda & Rahman, 1991) within the institution. Furthermore, because of the similarities between the phenomenological method and the processes and goals of making transformative change in organizations (Apps, 1988; Kuh & Whitt, 1988; Schlossberg, Lynch, & Chickering, 1989; Spiegelberg, 1982), this method of inquiry was particularly suitable.

The inquiry team consisted of three women: the two program coordinators and a researcher/evaluator involved in the project from its beginning who acted as *animateur* in the reflective, discursive process. The collaborators met together on a regular basis, over two years, to chart the growth and development of the project and to ascertain and analyze institutional barriers related to programming for adult students.

Utilizing descriptions of talk and interaction as the topic for analysis (Stanage, 1987), the social facts of this particular campus environment were studied through the analysis of personal journals of the two advocacy project coordinators, in addition to meeting minutes, institutional documents, and observations and interactions with pertinent actors in the university setting. The"dailiness" of the personal journals provided a rich database, and in combination with the collaborative nature of the investigation this study provides a unique way in which to analyze the higher education environment for adult students.

The investigation was initiated by utilizing the classic framework of philosophical questioning as outlined by Stanage (1987). Questions such as "Who am I?" "What can I know?" "What ought I to do?" "What may I hope?" served as metaphorical tropes that allowed the trio to begin to address the feelings, experiences, and conscious thoughts about the self (as former adult student and advocate) and the other (current adult students and the institution). Open-ended reflection and dialog around these questions resulted in the illumination of problematic areas which merited further probing and analysis. In doing so, an attempt was made to "demythologize" and make explicit the reality of what was actually occurring (Kuh & Whitt, 1988) in the setting and to "'see through' the ways in which the establishment monopolized the production and use of knowledge (Reason, 1994, p. 328)" in relation to adult students within this university environment.

Interpretation and Discussion

"Making sense" of the circumstances of the setting involved an analysis of "contextually grounded discourses, vocabularies, and categories..." and how they "defined and classified aspects of everyday life (Foucault, 1972, in Holstein & Gubrium, 1994)" in relation to the assumptions and values about adult students. By viewing the institution (it's policies, language, and behaviors) "as a cultural enterprise (Kuh & Whitt, 1988)," we began to understand the way in which the adult undergraduate experience was socially constructed. A variety of structural forces affected the institutional environment, and hence, the implementation of programming for adult students. These included issues such as age, class, gender, and the way in which they intersected with institutional politics. While discussed below in discrete categories, these structural factors were experienced as interlocking, simultaneous, interactive, and pervasive.

"A Room of One's Own"

Having a space for adult students that would allow them to network and share was foundational to the project proposal. Despite the fact that having "a room of one's own (Woolf, 1929)" is considered imperative when responding to adults on campus (p.118, Schlossberg, Lynch & Chickering, 1989), such a space was denied them repeatedly, with the rationale that there would be "no separate spaces" for adult students, particularly since "they were no different" than others on campus. While Kasworm (1993) cautions against creating "ghettos of exclusion, or delimiting categories (p. 163)," the lack of recognition of difference in needs and networking under the metaphor of community "suppresses discussion of the conflicts and costs that some students encounter in their efforts to join the academic community (p. 529, Grimm, 1996)." Indeed, Woolf's (1929) phenomenological reflections of the sexist prejudices, inequities, and hegemonic practices of higher education and society remain cogent reminders of the interlocking relationship that exists between the policies of institutions and oppressive cultural frames.

Thus, relegated to a small storage room out of the way of campus traffic, these "ladies in the closet" began the work of ascertaining institutional barriers, providing students with information and assistance, and developing a supportive network of faculty and administrative staff.

"Bowling Alone"

Gaining support among the various campus constituencies also remained elusive. While faculty participation and the building of a bridge between the two very different worlds of academic affairs and student services on behalf of adult students was another focal point of the project, the project's administrative placement between academic affairs and student services meant that support and ownership of the project was political, and problematic. The division and divisiveness that can exist between these two institutional segments is all but neglected in the higher education literature (with the exception of Clark, 1984, in Kuh & Whitt, p. 92; Schlossberg, Lynch & Chickering, 1989, p. 229). In this setting however, the tensions between the two cultures resulted in a lack of resources, low visibility, roadblocks to the project's implementation, and few predictable, consistent supporters. While Gramsci (in Grimm, 1995) believed that the greatest potential for change making lay in the spaces between individuals of different classes and allegiances, other campus initiatives which had tried to meld these two distinct groups had resulted in one professor's comment that everyone at the university seemed to be "bowling alone," and that no one worked together or communicated effectively.

Defending the Status Quo

In fact, as the advocates discovered, institutional policies, procedures, and potentially helpful services pertinent to the experiences and needs of adult students were often not understood or implemented by staff and faculty. Yet, despite the reality of adult students' experiences and complaints about the lack of attendance to their needs, many administrators and staff remained staunch in their view that the project was not needed. Anger, resentment, and defensive comments were a regular aspect of the advocates' experience with staff in other areas of the institution, who clearly felt threatened by the project. The message that the advocates were upsetting the status quo was heard in comments that ranged from "we know all we need to know about *them*," "adult students don't need services," "we tried that, they don't want services" and "we already do all of that." Yet, this expressed anger was not only directed at the advocates, but in subliminal ways at the students themselves. Other researchers have alluded to the phenomenon of blaming adults for being different than the traditional student (Keeton & James, 1992; Spitzburg & Thorndike, 1992), for being the "other" who is outside of the typical college experience (Stalker, 1993). For example, until the advocates' arrival the little known policy of allowing students not right out of high school to take placement tests alternative to the SAT/ACT was rarely implemented, and staff resented having to provide this extra service.

Adult Students, Invisibility, and Ageism

The maintenance of the status quo was further reinforced by the institution's conceptual meanings about the adult student, which were inconsistent and contradictory. On the one hand, while adamant that the needs of adult students were already attended to, the view that they were "no different" and had no different needs was also expressed. Yet, because age as a demographic characteristic was all but ignored by institutional research, the university truly had no way of knowing what the differences were. Hence, in classic circular logic, because no differences had been discerned, none existed. This systematic exclusion of adult students, along with the recognition that student services staff are often not schooled in the needs of adults on campuses, the realization that colleges frequently ignore adult students (p.228, Schlossberg, Lynch and Chickering, 1989), and that few faculty are apprised of the literature on adult learners (Spitzburg & Thorndike, 1992) raises questions about the implications of the broader culture, since "an institution's culture reflects to some degree the values and accepted practices of the host society (p. v, Kuh & Whitt, 1988)."

In this regard, the rhetoric used in the setting and in society also functioned to marginalize adult students. Kasworm (1993) eloquently deconstructs the label of "nontraditional student," exposing it as describing adult students as "nonnormative," and "outside of the dominant cultural circle (p.162)." Interestingly, regardless of which term (nontraditional or adult) was used on campus, objections were heard. Some noted that most of the university's students were "nontraditional" (as in adult, minority, or first-generation college bound). Others believed that applying the term "adult" to only those over age 25 was demeaning to 18-year-olds. Hence, in the silence and invisibility, the homogenization of the student body was reinforced, and was reflected in the lack of attention to adult students in virtually all areas, including recruitment, retention, student services, developmental courses, advisement, and accessibility to courses.

Adult Students as a Class and its Function in the Institution

Despite their institutional invisibility however, "adult students" appeared to be members of a socially constructed class bound by multiple, overlapping political, cultural, educational, and informational characteristics which kept them at the margin. Adult undergraduates come to higher education's traditional culture of meritocracy (Spitzberg & Thorndike, 1992) with past experiences of dropping out, stopping out, or having never attended college. In relation to such a setting, these past experiences are not "meritorious" and promote personal and collective imagery of "not being college material" and of being "former failures," regardless of the circumstances of their past. Furthermore, the myth that "adult students are academically inferior to younger students (Kasworm, 1994)," is powerful, and when the institution (despite its egalitarian, metropolitan mission) wants only "the cream of the crop," as reflected in faculty and staff attitudes, the decline in the availability of developmental classes, and lack of access to courses which allows the completion of a degree at night, then "former failures" don't fit in. This experience, in combination with being "off-time (Neugarten, 1979)" in relation to the historically normative age expectations of the college experience situates adult students as being outside of the dominant culture of college life.

Language such as "conditional" and "provisional status," and policies, programs, and imagery which reflect the institution's emphasis on youth remind adult students of both their potential lack of merit, and their difference of experience. For example, while high school students had access to guidance counselors and campus recruiters, adult students considering the possibility of college were told that they could not speak to a campus representative without first enrolling. Once on campus, adult students reported being scolded for not understanding policies and procedures, with the remark that "if an 18-year-old can understand this, why can't you!" Yet, "finding one's way into college, understanding its diverse environments, learning its routine and resources and then defining a relationship to it require a large new set of complex learnings (p.59, Schlossberg, Lynch and Chickering, 1989)." In an effort to negotiate this environment which was not only alien, but unsupportive, many adult students try to "pass" as confident, knowledgeable and competent, which may reinforce the view that services for this group were not needed or wanted. This then further compromises those adult students who may have trouble "passing," due to racism, personal crisis, poverty, or academic distress, thereby functioning to reinforce traditional "class" divisions and inequities.

Gender and the "White Male System":

"Universities are grounded in masculine epistemology and hierarchical top-down decision making, and are charged with protecting knowledge and safeguarding traditions (Grimm, 1996). This "white male system (Schaff in Flynn, 1993)" represents a normative view of reality, that when questioned by women, or others outside of this experience, are told that they do not understand "reality." Thus marginalized by class, the politics of the institution, and gender, the advocates' attempts at negotiating the administrative ropes revealed the patriarchal attitudes inherent in the system. Indeed, one outside observer noted the obvious way in which gender was constructing this setting. For example, rather than being provided with "real resources," they were to use "the power of your personality," or "more makeup." Having begun the project believing that their role as both "insider/outsider" would empower them, the factors which allowed them to connect with their constituency were those which were considered to have little value. The euphemistic label of "dynamic duo" that they acquired reflected not only the reality of their lack of power, but belittled their attempts at fostering affiliation, and denigrated their caring and commitment to students, which was the very heart of this project.

Getting to the Heart of It All: Toward an "Ethic of Caring" in Administration

In the culture of higher education, "masculine attributes like an orientation toward achievement and objectivity are valued over cooperation, connectedness, and subjectivity (Capra, 1983; Ferguson, 1980, in Kuh & Whitt)." While advocates for equal access in higher education (Spitzburg & Thorndike, 1992) call for justice as "fairness," this concept remains grounded in a male model which emphasizes rights and rules. Based on this experience, justice as fairness must be expanded to include an "ethic of care," which, as defined by Gilligan (1982) has as its foundation an understanding of contextual concerns, an emphasis on responsibility and relationships, and bases judgments and actions on needs. While the notion of care has been linked to the teaching function in higher education (Schlossberg, Lynch & Chickering, 1989; Kasworm, 1993) this ethic of care must extend beyond teaching to administrative functions as well, for students must negotiate the "bureaucracy" of the institution before they can get to the "knowledge."

"Coming Out of the Closet:" Concluding Thoughts

While "higher education has made its finest contributions from the creative and programmatic margins (p. 314, Hatfield,1989), being the "other" clearly makes the change making process political and problematic. Yet, in marginality one has the space to "find and name (the) contradictions, the places where (hegemony) leaks (p. 541, Grimm, 1996)." Indeed, as a result of this naming, and while little (yet) has changed, the institution has begun some introspection. While adult students still remain without "a room of one's own," the advocates are being moved out of the closet (at least for the short term) into a more visible space. Although the future of this project is unknown, it is clear that it must continue to be based on the need to question and the ethic of caring, and that it must model this ethic for others.

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A Replication Study of the Attitudes of Selected Academics and Decision-Makers Towards Adult Students

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Abstract

The investigation examined the attitudes of selected academics and decision-makers towards adult students 15 years after the original study was conducted, in another rural state, and in another region of the United States. While the primary purpose was to replicate the original study, a secondary purpose was to compare and identify changes in attitudes.

Problem Statement

Higher education in the United States clearly supports a culture that facilitates a successful learning environment for traditional students. In contrast, higher education has experienced difficulty in meeting the demands of adult non-traditional students (25 years or older). While the concept of lifelong learning has been integrated into mainstream society with remarkable success, and institutions of higher education have been asked to become more responsive to adult student demands, some institutions have made significant strides while others have been reluctant to adapt (Dillman, Christenson, Salant, & Warner, 1995). Concerns of reduced funding, increasing technological demands, and declining enrollments of traditional college students are raising questions about dated policies and practices that do not adequately meet the demands of the "new majority" of adult students.

The Education Resources Institute in a 1996 publication *Life After Forty: A New Portrait of Today's-and Tomorrow's-Postsecondary Students*, outlines that students over 40 are the fastest growing age cohort in postsecondary education, and represent a new set of opportunities for the nation's higher education system. According to the report, understanding where these students are being trained, and how their life circumstances affect their educational experience, permits administrators to adapt programs to over forty students' educational demands.

Numerous authors (Gross, 1995; Mehlinger, 1996; Van Horn, 1996) have outlined the current changes in society that directly affect higher education and the demands of lifelong learning. Sisco's (1981) three sociological developments (technological change, lifelong learning, demographic change) have remained major influences driving change in American society today.

Learning technologies (CD ROM, interactive video, Internet courses, etc.) are providing higher education with opportunities to meet demands which would have been impossible a few short years ago (Gilbert, 1995; Gross, 1995; Mehlinger, 1996). According to Dillman and associates (1995) institutions of higher education that are prepared for the future will ensure (1) that technology is available, (2) that support services are in place, (3) that instructional strategies are improving, and (4) support for those who are making the leap from face-to-face interaction to learning across space and time. In addition, institutions that have traditionally defined infrastructures in terms of buildings and structural foundations will find it difficult to compete with institutions that have become almost "inflatable" in nature. Flexibility in design and capacity will facilitate meeting the demands of adult clients.

Today, lifelong learning terminology has become common from kindergarten through graduate education. Continuing professional education and workforce training and development are examples, and play a critical role in American society. In addition, lifelong learning is most often triggered by an event (loss of employment, divorce, children leaving home, illness, etc.) The only constant among adults and their personalized description of the event, is the event itself.

Furthermore, labor market analysis estimates according to Charland (1993) indicates that one-third of the jobs in America are in transition, that one-third of technical jobs are becoming obsolete, and that one-third of our workers are leaving their jobs. To adapt to the changing demands in the workplace, lifelong learning can assist adults in transition as they prepare for the new realities of American society.

Demographic changes in American society, including an ever increasing aging population, and realignment of immigration policy will continue to influence demands for higher education. According to Gross (1995) baby-boomers are poised to become the largest group of potential customers for higher education by offering a flexible, broad-based adult student learning environment. In fact, enrollments for institutions of higher education are projected to increase only 4% for students under 25 years, but 16% for students over 25 years (National Center for Education Statistics, 1995).

Important stakeholders' (academics and decision-makers) hold attitudes and display actions which influence policy and programs and effect adult students. Understanding these attitudes can increase awareness and provide an increased sensitivity to adult students. This research builds upon replication, attitude, and adult learning theory and attempts to compare and understand the attitudes of academics and decision-makers toward adult students since 1981, when the original study was conducted.

Theoretical Framework

According to Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996), researchers should repeat studies to test validity and reliability of their findings. Replication studies enhance the generalizability of previous findings and provide confirmatory data concerning the behaviors, subjects, and setting, to which the results are applicable. Furthermore, understanding attitude theory and its develop from a knowledge perspective (as it translates to potential behaviors) is important since according to Craig and Norris (1991) behaviors are influenced by attitudes. Experiences that academics and decision-makers have with adult students influence their development and decision-making processes. Contacts with adult students effect attitudes toward adult students. In addition, it influences adult student programming initiatives. Identifying these significant demographic variables (e.g., experiences with adult students) can assist in developing appropriate professional development initiatives.

Research Methods

Gay (1987) proposed that repeating a study with different subjects in the same or different settings increased the generalizability of findings. Unfortunately, Borg and Gall (1989) observed that replication studies are seldom done by educational researchers even though they are an important strategy for determining the significance of results obtained in a particular study. Additionally, replication studies need not literally repeat the exact design of the original study. The 1995 study replicated critical elements of the 1981 study and extended the inquiry into new areas of interest (Borg & Gall, 1989). Conducting the 1995 study in a different region of the country contributes to the generalizability of previous research findings.

Modifications were made to the 1981 study to facilitate conducting the 1995 study. Sisco's (1981) design incorporated personal face-to-face contact with the subjects for data collection. Interviews and attitude questionnaires were conducted with 130 subjects in the original study. The 1995 study utilized mail survey and follow-up telephone interviews. Both studies utilized an attitude questionnaire and interview schedule. The attitude questionnaire consisted of 30 statements related to adult learners that emerged from a literature review and clustered around the following categories: (1) learning ability, (2) achievement and performance, (3) motivation, (4) experience, (5) learning style and orientation. In addition, the term "adult student" replaced "adult learner" in the attitude questionnaire to reflect current literature describing students over the age of 25 attending institutions of higher education.

The replication study utilized survey research following Dillman's (1978) "Total Design Method" (TDM). The study included the entire population of academics (University of Wyoming) and decision-makers (1995 Wyoming Official Directory). The attitude questionnaire was mailed to the population of academics (661) and decision-makers (214) generating a total response rate of 530 or 60.57%. The response rate of academics was 389, or 58.85%. The response rate of the decision-makers was 141, or 65.88%. Twenty percent of the returned attitude questionnaires of academics (n=78) and decision-makers (n=28) were randomly selected with replacement for the telephone interview component of the research. Four refusals were replaced in the telephone interviews.

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS-X 2.1) analyzed data from the attitude questionnaire. Demographic data was coded as discrete. The scores acquired by a five-point Likert Scale determined the participant's overall attitude score on the agreement-disagreement continuum. Analysis of variance was performed on the 30 Likert Scale items from the attitude questionnaire to see if there were any significant differences among and between groups based on demographic variables.

The telephone interview data by virtue of their qualitative nature, were analyzed using a logical analysis of content. This process strengthened the researchers confidence and ability to converge on a stable and meaningful category set by exposing the responses and category to searching criticism (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The original list of categories was reduced by providing improved articulation and integration. Following an in-depth analysis of each telephone interview schedule, findings across subjects were identified by similar and divergent themes.

Results

The original 1981 study noted conflict in the literature on attitudes held by influential stakeholders toward adult students: some were rather negative in nature, while others found attitudes to be quite positive. The replication study supported the claim that the attitudes of academics and decision-makers towards adult learners/students are as positive as found in the 1981 study. Significant quantitative differences between and among groups in the 1981 and 1995 studies diminished suggesting an increase in positive attitudes over the past 15 years. Results of the 1981 and 1995 studies follow.

Quantitative Results

Similar Results of the 1981 Study and 1995 Study

1. Both the 1981 study and the 1995 study found differences among academics and decision-makers subgroup based on the attitude questionnaire. Significant differences were found between subgroups in the 1981 study using a post hoc analysis. Using post hoc analysis in the 1995 study did not reveal any significant differences. The differences found in the 1981 study have diminished compared to the 1995 study, and perhaps result in more positive attitudes.
2. Both the 1981 study and the 1995 study found significant differences in both the total sample and the academic sample based on gender. When the decision-maker groups are removed in both studies, the gender differences are reported only for the academic groups. Females in both studies had more positive attitudes towards adult students than males. These results suggest little change

has occurred within the male academic community and their attitudes towards adult students have remained less positive than their female counterparts 15 years later.

3. In both the 1981 study and 1995 study, significant differences in attitudes between age groups did not exist. These results suggest that age is not a significant variable for academics.

4. Both the 1981 study and 1995 study reported attitude differences in academics groups based on education level. A post hoc analysis, Honest Significant Differences (HSD) was conducted with both studies to discover within group differences. The analysis revealed no significance within group differences in either study.

5. Lastly, no significant differences were found in either study based on academic rank. These results revealed that academic rank does not seem to influence attitudes.

Differing Results of the 1981 Study and 1995 Study

1. In the 1995 study there was no difference between the attitudes of academics and decision-makers toward adult students. In the 1981 study academics expressed a significantly more positive attitude toward adult learners than did decision-makers. The mean score for academics was 110.26; decision-makers mean score was 107.37. The F value was 5.22 with 1 degree of freedom, p equaling .024. These results revealed that fewer differences exist in the 1995 study between academics and decision-makers compared to the 1981 study.

2. In the 1995 study the decision-making group did not find significant difference, in their attitudes towards adult students while in the 1981 study a difference was found. The oldest group of decision-makers had the lowest mean score in the 1981 study. Fifteen years later when the 1995 study was conducted, no differences were found in attitudes based on age of decision-makers. This change could be attributed to the fact the oldest decision-making group has retired.

3. In the 1995 study, academics and decision-makers grouped by educational level found no significant differences in attitude toward adult students. In the 1981 study, academics and decision-makers grouped by educational level indicated a significant difference in attitude toward adult learners. Masters degree participants held the most positive attitudes while subjects holding bachelor degrees had the least positive attitudes. In the 1995 study, no significant differences were revealed in the total sample; however, significant differences were found within the academic group.

Qualitative Results

Comparison of the qualitative data between the 1995 study and the 1981 study provided additional insight into the attitudes of academics and decision-makers toward adult students, thereby furthering the richness of the quantitative data. Thirty-nine percent of respondents in the 1981 study reported that adult students were more close-minded than in the 1995 study where 15.3 percent said that adult students were more close-minded. In the 1981 study 48.5 percent of respondents stated that adults were more rigid compared with 23.2 percent in the 1995 study. Both studies revealed that adult students were described positively by both academics and decision-makers. Eleven percent of academics and five percent of decision-makers described the typical adult student in a way that could be described as negative.

When respondents were asked to describe the term *adult student*, terms such as "many responsibilities," "returning to school," and "re-tooling" were used. These responses were similar to the responses from the 1981 study which emphasized "re-tooling." Respondents were asked about the importance of continuing education in contemporary society. Responses from both studies highlight the economic realities of education and reveal that more education ensures better employability. In addition, the "learning for earning" concept is supported by both academics and decision-makers.

When respondents were asked about the importance of adults compared to the education of children, the 1995 study showed an increase in the importance education for adults compared to the education for children. The education of adults was as important as the education of traditional age college student more often in the 1995 study.

Themes identified about the challenges facing higher education through the year 2000 were (1) funding levels, (2) cost of higher education, (3) vision of higher education, (4) recruitment, (5) leadership, (6) technology, (7) change, and (8) legislative support. Frequency count of major challenges were significantly higher than "solutions to challenges." Thus it appears that academics and decision-makers were clearer about the major challenges than solutions to meet those challenges.

Both academics and decision-makers supported an increase in access to University of Wyoming degree program offerings throughout the state by an increased utilization of distance learning technologies. Themes emerging "on the identification of trends in today's society which may impact adult students and institutions of higher education" were increase in tuition costs, development of education haves and have nots, technological change, economic support, demographic change, career transition, higher education leadership, needs of business/industry, just in time education, and distance education strategies.

Conclusions and Discussion

The first significant result from the 1995 study is that attitudes of academics and decision-makers are positive and appear more positive than in the 1981 study. This could be attributed to a heightened awareness and interest in adult education and specific interest in adult students returning to higher education. In addition, a recognition by academics and decision-makers of the impact of technological change, increased focus on lifelong learning, and demographic changes could be responsible for this perceived increase in positive attitudes. In fact, there appears to be more stability and congruence between and among groups when the 1995 study is compared to the 1981 study. The results of the telephone interviews suggest that academics and decision-makers view adult students favorably and these results support the quantitative data acquired through the attitude questionnaire.

Finally, even though attitudes appear to be positive and perhaps more positive than they were 15 years ago, there is a cautionary note. While positive attitudes were expressed toward adult students, inferences should not be made that positive attitudes by academics and decision-makers mean better opportunities for adult students. Although attitudes are often predictors of behaviors, it does not mean that positive attitudes lead to positive action. As Geyer (1985), Home (1995), Kasworm (1990), and Raven and Jimmerson (1992) outlined in their findings, and is indicated in this study's findings, behaviors which support adult students are different than positive attitudes toward adult students. The 1995 study's findings support that positive attitudes toward adult students are held by academics and decision-makers, while at the same time acknowledges that behaviors that translate into increased support for adult students are distinctly different than positive attitudes.

Further Study

Building a data base on attitudes towards adult students could be accomplished by replicating the study in other regions of the United States or in other countries, or with other academic and decision-maker populations (community college faculty, professional staff, support staff, etc) in urban settings. Further investigation into the differences between male and female academics attitudes towards adult students, might also assist in reducing these attitudinal differences. Lastly, a longitudinal study every five years might identify changes and trends over time that are emerging and would assist in a better understanding of factors which influence attitude change towards adult students.

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THE EFFECTIVENESS OF TOTAL QUALITY MANAGEMENT: A RESPONSE TO THE CRITICS

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Abstract.A recent paper strongly berates total quality management, claiming it is a tool of management used to adversely manipulate workers in pursuit of corporate gain. This paper questions this supposition, arguing it is the abuse of TQM by management that is at fault. Effective TQM is based on four principles, customer satisfaction, continuous improvement, speaking with facts, and respect for people. It is the lack of the genuine respect for people that is the demise of most TQM initiatives.

A paper by Howell, Preston, Schied, and Carter (1996) was presented at the 1996 Adult Education Research Conference. It investigated the impact of total quality management (TQM) at a manufacturing plant in Pennsylvania. The study concluded that the workers were worse off after the implementation of TQM, with the workers being "subjected to internalized mechanisms of control," and "objects of the tyranny of management theory and management's economic agenda." They inferred that adult educators were a part of this tyranny, "allowing the corporation to meet their goals using education and training as a facade" (pp. 169-170).

The conclusion that management practices, specifically TQM, was the root of the abject manipulation of the workers is questionable. The purpose of this paper is to question this premise with a counterpoint. Namely, it was not the implementation of TQM that was the cause, but rather poor management and the misuse of TQM for corporate gain at the expense of the workers. This will be done by describing a more complete theoretical framework of TQM than was given in the Howell *et al* paper. A description of the implementation of TQM at one company using the principles of the TQM principles described in this paper is presented.

The Pros and Cons of Total Quality Management

Total quality, as a movement evolved primarily over the last thirty years. Its roots, however, penetrate the last 100 years of striving to improve first manufacturing, and then service. The five recognized gurus of the total quality management are W. Edwards Deming (Walton, 1986), Armand A. Feigenbaum (1983), Joseph M. Juran (1988), Kaoru Ishikawa (1985), and Philip B. Crosby (1979). Individually they molded the framework upon which present TQM practices are based. Collectively, they developed a conceptual framework that has evolved into a worldwide movement that some would call a transformation of every aspect of manufacturing and service. Hence, the term *total* quality.

The implementation of TQM in organizations continues to be strong. The annual report of employee training and development by the editors of *Training* lists TQM as the top initiative in 1995-96, with 49% of all organizations with 100 or more employees initiating TQM ("Trends," 1996). Large organizations (e.g., Federal Express, Ford Motor Company, Coca Cola, Motorola), smaller organizations (L.L. Bean, Wallace, Solectron), government agencies (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, State of South Carolina, City of Phoenix), and many schools, colleges, universities, hospitals and other health services organizations are at various stages of implementing TQM (Strong and Ford, 1992, Lewis and Smith, 1994, "Training Today," 1995). Peters (1994) lists TQM as one of six of the most important concepts transforming organizations today (the other five are reengineering, leveraging knowledge, trust, the curious/adventurous organization, and the virtual organization).

TQM is not without criticism, however. Zemke (1992), in an editorial on TQM coming under fire, identified five reasons why TQM is being increasingly criticized: A lack of focus on the purpose and goals of TQM, rigid zealotry and adherence to TQM even when it is not being accepted, emphasis of form over function, awareness of TQM over implementation of TQM, and viewing TQM as the fad or flavor of the month, with it being replaced with the next fad, e.g., reengineering and human performance management. The initiatives for implementing TQM are decreasing in some industries, with a drop of nine percent (9%) for all organizations from 1994-95 (58%) to 1995-96 (49%) ("Trends," 1996). However, some industries are increasing, e.g., wholesale/retail trade, from 24% to 44%; and health service, from 66% to 73%. Thus, TQM remains a highly influential management practice that warrants continued attention to its application, and the adherence to *all* the principles.

Theoretical Framework

The basic theoretical constructs of total quality management are well documented by many authors (Deming (Walton, 1986); Juran, 1988; Lindsey and Petrick, 1997; Voehl, 1990; Walton, 1989). Voehl (1992), and Lewis and Smith (1994) identify four fundamental principles or pillars that form the basis of the application of TQM within the organization: customer satisfaction, continuous improvement, speaking with facts, and respect for people.

Regarding customer satisfaction, the core purpose of any quality improvement process is to ensure that the needs and reasonable expectations of the customer are identified and satisfied. Serving the customers addresses three important questions: Who are our customers, what do they want/need, and what must we do to meet or even anticipate their needs? Once the customers' required needs are identified, work processes can be designed or modified to ensure these requirements are met.

Continuous improvement is both a commitment and a process. As stated by Gallagher and Smith (1997, p. 72), "the commitment to quality is initiated with a statement of dedication to a shared mission and vision and the empowerment of everyone to incrementally move toward the vision."

Speaking with facts, a phrase coined by Deming (Walton, 1986) is more accurately named data driven decision making, as it is based on two functions. The idea behind this is that making a decision without information, or deciding on the basis of influence, hearsay, or a preconceived notion is undesirable.

These first three principles are cited in Howell *et al* (1996), but not the fourth principle. Respect for people is the acknowledgment that, while people work *at* an organization, they work *for* themselves, trying to create a meaningful and satisfying life. Recognition of this by the organization results in a framework that includes, according to Lewis and Smith (1994), (1) creating a sense of purpose in the workplace so that people are motivated to do their best; (2) keeping people informed and involved, showing them how they are a part of the bigger picture; (3) educating and developing people so that all the people are the best that they can be; (4) helping people communicate well so they can do their jobs with optimal enjoyment and peak effectiveness; and (5) delegating responsibility and authority downward so that people are not just "doing what we're told," but are taking the initiative to try to make things work better.

It is this fourth critical principle that is lacking in most unsuccessful TQM programs. This is the principle that professional practitioners in adult education and human resource development can most contribute. With the equal implementation of the first three principles and a genuine respect for all the people involved in the TQM process, TQM is the one management theory that uses a key premise of adult learning, i.e., the recognition of and respect for adults as individuals and learners.

The Implementation of TQM at One Company

To illustrate how TQM is being implemented within the framework of the four principles described above, following is a description of how one company is actualizing TQM. This should be read within the context of a progress report, as the TQM process was initiated in August 1996 and will continue for some time.

The plant processes citrus products, and is located in central Florida. It has been in operation for thirty years, and was owned for most of the time by a major food product company. In 1992 they sold the company to the present owners who have been in the citrus business for a number of years, having operated other plants in Florida. They originally intended to have this plant be a processing plant for another packaging and bottling plant, but soon discovered this plant was operating well and set it up to do the entire processing and packaging operation, i.e., a self-sustaining profit center.

The plant employs about 130 people (management and workers) who work year-round. During the Winter and early Spring processing time the schedule is increased to a twenty-four hour, seven day work schedule. For the remainder of the year the schedule is a normal forty hour, five day work week.

Regarding the management of the company, the president, Executive Vice President, and Operations Vice President was brought in by the parent company. It is the Executive Vice President who launched the TQM program at this plant, having had previous positive experience implementing TQM. Two consultants, one being the coauthor of this paper (Lewis), were contracted to assist in developing and implementing the TQM program.

Some operational information is necessary. The waste of the juice extraction process, the pulp and peel from the citrus, is conveyed to a feedmill. It is then converted into pellets and sold as highly nutritional feed for cattle. The feedmill is a critical part of the plant because the waste from all the other processing lines goes to the feedmill. Problems here directly affect the rest of the plant. Some problems existed at the feedmill, so management requested the consultants to first work with the feedmill workers.

The consultants have met weekly for about twenty weeks. Their original plan was to conduct various sessions on team development, effective communication, and problem solving techniques. However, they quickly recognized that the workers not only were not interested in these topics, but had great suspicion of the consultants, i.e., "Why are you here? You were sent by management, and management does not listen to us; thus, this is another way to brainwash us and take control." As these questions and attitudes surfaced the consultants listened and, instead of initiating the original plan, they discussed these concerns with the workers, putting them in writing. The consultants then took the workers through an exercise on self-directed teams. At the conclusion of this exercise, they asked the workers to what degree did they want to take control of their actions, to more directly control the operational and managerial functions of their work. They said that, while they still had reservations, the process they had experienced so far had enough potential that they wanted to continue. From this point the workers began to take on some of the problems they had identified. Three will be described.

The first problem was high turnover in the feedmill. With the assistance of one consultant, the workers developed a causal analysis (a fishbone diagram) to examine the causes and problems of turnover. The same day the analysis was done, management was invited for a presentation. The workers presented their analysis; the consultant only gave support. The presentation was well received and became an important turning point for the workers, because it was an indication that management was serious about this.

Management said they would get back with them shortly. When they did not respond after two weeks, the consultant questioned the Operations Vice President, who stated they were still thinking about the problem. The consultant requested that they tell the workers *something*, because it was an issue of mutuality, trust, and respect. Shortly afterwards they held a meeting and positive feedback was given.

From the turnover problem evolved a problem regarding the company's hiring process. Two issues surfaced that reflect the sensitivity the workers had about management practices. First, when they hired a person they did not tell the person a specific salary, but was only given a salary range by the supervisor. Notice of the hiring was sent to the Operations Vice President who established the salary, but the hiring still required the approval of the Executive Vice President and the President before it was official. It was only then that they told the person the specific salary. This was typically over a week later.

Second, the hiring process was in part inadvertently controlled by the security guard at the front gate. People would come to the gate, ask the guard if they were hiring. The guard would say no and send them away. This frequently occurred after a friend working in the plant had told the person to come because the plant was hiring. This was particularly sensitive to minority applicants whom they would tell the company was hiring, and then were turned away at the gate.

In both issues management did not fully know these actions were occurring, and how the consequences of these actions adversely affected the attitudes of the workers. Because of these presentations, they are reviewing the hiring process at the time of this writing.

These first two problems centered on managerial practices. The third was a manufacturing problem that also exposed a related managerial issue, i.e., the management style of the supervisor and his actions in relation to the TQM process. A persistent problem in the feedmill is the control of the moisture level of the cattle feed pellets. If it is too high the pellets will break apart; if is too low the cattle will drink too much water after eating the pellets. Again, the workers conducted a causal analysis, and invited management in for a presentation. They were favorably impressed, and brought in the Quality Assurance Director to hear the presentation The Q.A. Director agreed with the worker's conclusion and developed a plan for frequent testing. The issue became who would do the testing, the Q.A. Director or the workers. The Q.A. Director was willing to have the workers conduct the tests. The supervisor, however, adamantly refused. The workers went along with the supervisor's decision, but reluctantly. A core really did want to do the testing, but were being blocked by the supervisor.

Also at this time it was discovered that, when the consultants were not at the plant, the supervisor was making different decisions resulting in extensive inconsistency. The Supervisor, it was observed, was managing by manipulation and playing people off each other. The consultant tried to get him to attend a supervision workshop, but he refused ("I do not want to do role playing," he strongly stated.). To date he is yet to attend and this problem remains unresolved.

What has been described are three incidents illustrating the implementation of TQM, with the primary focus being a respect for all the people involved in the process. The consultants, with management's approval and encouragement, are working closely with the workers, serving as facilitators and coaches, giving them guidance in both the understanding of their problems, and the skills to describe them to management. This approach has proven effective as indicated by the acceptance of the process by the workers and management, the resolution of some longstanding problems that have been getting in the way of productivity, and a mutually beneficial work environment.

The process is not without its casualties. While the Executive Vice President has been the driver for the implementation of TQM, the Operations Vice President has not been a proponent, but accepted it because his boss wanted it. Such a dissonant attitude and relationship can only last so long, and recently the Operations V. P. resigned, choosing early retirement.

Summary and Conclusion

The interest in writing this paper began after reading the paper by Howell, Preston, Schied, and Carter (1996). As stated above, they argued that the TQM process is implemented under the guise of education and training, but is actually driven by a corporate policy to cut labor costs. What the management of the company did in Pennsylvania, described in their paper, is not new. Managers are being forced to extirpate what they perceive are excessive resources, which often are the people, using any measure that they deem rational to carry out their objectives. Total quality management can be a highly effective tool to use for this adverse purpose. Identifying an overall mission and goals by management, justifying it by emphasizing its acceptance in order to counter increasing competition, and then establishing work teams and requiring them to develop "team driven" strategies to actualize the goals, diminishes the onus of responsibility for any changes management must make if they do not realize the goals. The managers at the Pennsylvania plant, described in Howell, Preston, Schied, and Carter (1996) were required to follow rigid standards to comply with the ISO 9000 criteria, the international standard for products and practices. Management's interpretation of the criteria, however, resulted in an arbitrary comprehensive testing of all employees, and the development of a two-tiered status of the workers, i.e., those who past the tests and those who did not. This decision was a decision by management who chose to use their adaptation of TQM to carry it out. Thus, it was the misuse and abuse by management of this plant, and not the TQM process that created the resulting demoralizing havoc among the workers.

In contrast, the management at the plant described in this paper, concentrated on similar goals, the increase of productivity within rigid standards, but without increased costs, and lower costs if possible. They implemented the first three principles described above (customer focus, continuous improvement, and decisions based on facts), but equally concentrated on the fourth principle, respect for people. The result was an increasing sensitivity of the worth and value of the workers, and the allowance and encouragement for their self direction in resolving the problems preventing increased productivity. This is the full use of TQM that, when collaboratively attempted, can result in positive outcomes for everyone.

The pursuit of "quality" is a driving force of every person, of every organization. When individually perceived and defined, we strive to achieve what we believe to be a "quality life," maintaining "quality relationships," spending "quality time." Organizations also want to sell "quality products," provide "quality service," and do it within organizations recognized for their "quality work environment." Thus, while the growth and implementation of quality as a movement has lessened, the application of the concept is an integral part of our culture, our lives. Chang (1993) in an intense review of the literature on total quality management success stories, and various quality award criteria and certification guidelines around the world, identified ten "core threads" that are evident in successful TQM initiatives: an intense customer focus, hands-on involvement of senior management, deployment of strategic objectives, continuous process improvement, *empowered involvement of satisfied employees*, long term orientation, targeted measurement data, market responsiveness, *continuous learning and development*, and *internal and external partnerships*. We italicized the three "threads" that reflect a respect for people. These are the three that are most often not implemented. They are also the three most difficult to implement. The challenge is evident. Despite it being a process called total quality management, or any other name, to assure successful growth of both organizations and individuals, a genuine respect for people is mandatory.

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Doing Cross Cultural Research in Adult Education: Methodological and Epistemological Considerations

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Abstract

While doing cross cultural research is not new, the growing acknowledgement of the perils of crossing cultures unconsciously is gaining support and calling for change. This paper examines some methodogical and epistemological considerations of doing cross cultural qualitative research in adult education. Reliance on partial knowledge and middle class cultural and political bias point to the need within the field for critical reflection on how and why emperical realities are studied in the ways that they are and at the same time require rethinking and revision of traditional research methods while designing new methods of inquiry.

Introduction

Doing cross cultural research in adult education is inherently problematic because of the rich diversity of populations engaged in adult practice and programs. In many cases there are social, political, economic, gender and other cultural differences between the researcher and the subjects which necessitates a need to understand varying and contingent standpoints in order to improve practice and increase effectiveness and relevancy.

This critique focuses on qualitative research methodology as I am familiar with it through my practice and experiences conducting ethnography, participant observations, and developing grounded theory. In attempting to understand others, I am interested in enhancing an understanding of the normality of pluralism and cultural difference as a shared human experience.

Conducting cross cultural research is not new. What is new is the growing acknowledgement of the perils of crossing cultures unconsciously. Some issues are a matter of gaining certain sensitivities while other concerns are more cognitive and require critical reflection or scrutiny. Matters of methodology and epistemology are considered here as they impact various stages of cross cultural research from design to analysis to reporting.

Adult Education Research Limitations

The need to critically examine cross cultural research is supported by two obvious limitations of both historical and contemporary research. First, adult education theory and practice has for too long relied on partial knowledge (Minnich, 1990) from privileged perspectives using scientific notions of universal reason in hopes of understanding American society. What, in fact, this restricted and restricting view does is to mask and promote exclusive traditions of what is called objective knowledge. Reliance on this partial, and so-called objective, knowledge has been at the expense of silencing voices of difference which would challenge what is known in the mainstream. Poster (1989) suggests that the "...art of appropriating the universal was the main business of the Enlightenment. The philosophies were master impressionists whose collective textual voice ventriloquized that of humanity but spoke for a particular social class" (p. 31) and gender.

Secondly, an unusually strong cultural and political bias toward middle class values has been promoted within adult education. Stanfield (1993) suggests this bias is rooted in what he calls "societal folk beliefs" (p.4). Folk beliefs, or folk wisdom, are dogma derived through ideological bias despite empirical evidence to the contrary. One such belief is the liberal notion that eventually all African Americans, or other marginalized groups for that matter, will assimilate. Such folk notions explain away difference in much the same way that "controlling for race" in quantitative studies wipes out any sense or recognition of the human element behind the numerical cases. For various reasons, people continue to hold onto biased ideological knowledge in theory and practice.

These limitations, as well as others, point to the need within the field of adult education for critical reflection on how and why empirical realities are studied in the ways that they are in order to both enlarge the partial knowledge currently available to us and to neutralize the middle class cultural and political bias. As we rethink and revise traditional methods and design new methods of collecting data and interpreting what is found, we will begin to see matters as they are. The tools used, however, need to be relevant to cross cultural projects in order to collect data that provides adequate explanations for multiple dimensions of culture and difference.

Existing theory

There have been calls within strands of social science research (Stanfield, 1993; Andersen, 1993;), feminist inquiry (Reinharz, 1992; Lather, 1991; hooks, 1984, Zambrana, 1988), educational critical theory (Giroux, 1992; Horsman, 1990) and postmodernism (Kellner, 1989; Fraser, 1990) for not only the recognition of difference but the significance of difference in illuminating everyday life, across race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality to compare and evaluate social policy and to generate new theory that accounts for new worldviews.

Cultural theorists provide solid theoretical foundations for extending legitimization of knowledge to nondominant groups. They call for a reexamination of meaning, recognizing variant communal and individual standards (Facio, 1993), a debate over ethnocentrism versus cultural relativism (Reinharz, 1992; Minh-ha, 1989; Pai, 1990) and an activism that widens the circle of inclusiveness. These texts and many others speak to the importance of constructing and building upon authentic location-based theory and practice which challenges while at the same time moves beyond the dominant authority.

For example, in Kellner's critique of postmodern, or post-industrial, society he states that old theories of technological rationality and one-dimensional society are no longer useful conceptual frameworks for analyzing dynamics of contemporary capitalist societies. He calls for more multidimensional approaches grounded in dialectical cultural theory and ideological critique with a practical intent to understand the struggles of the present age and to "increase the boundaries and extent of democracy" (p. 226). Fraser (1990) suggests there is a "struggle over needs" between those of the dominant culture and the oppressed and excluded. She shifts our attention away from talk about "needs" to "discourses about needs" stating that "thin theories of needs" only concern themselves with whether predefined needs will or will not be met. Consequently, people's needs are taken as simply given and unproblematic. Additionally, such theories assume it doesn't matter who interprets the needs in question, they take for granted that dominant forms of public discourse for interpreting needs are fair and adequate, and they fail to problematize the "institutional and social logic of processes of needs interpretation" (p.164) thus neglecting important political questions. Horsman (1990) agrees and contends that the dominant discourse, supported by legitimate research studies, encourages blind and systematic planning of programs for women who are defined "illiterate" without taking into consideration their self identified needs based on their differing economic and social locations.

At the site of feminist inquiry, much of the recent feminist scholarship merely presents new stereotypes of women's roles rather than seriously addressing how historical and social structural differences construct a different range of options and choices for women. Zambrana (1988) warns "mainstream scholarship has not provided useful paradigms for understanding Latina women" (p.138) "thus the analysis of Latina women needs to emerge from a description of their own experiences. Perhaps there will be many similarities with majority culture women based on gender alone. We must cease, however, making assumptions related to personal and institutional variables that have repeatedly been proven erroneous" (p.144). A harsher critique of white women's research efforts is made by hooks (1984). She states "even though they [white women] may be sincerely concerned about racism, their methodology suggests they are not yet free of the type of paternalism endemic to white supremacist ideology (p.26-27). This accusation continues today. Reinharz (1992), as a feminist theorist, feels it is her responsibility to learn as much as possible about racial diversity and interracial attempts at mutual understanding to avoid feeding into the type of research hooks rejects.

Standpoint theorists (for instance, feminist and critical theorists) understand that researchers and their subjects are located in specific social-historical settings. Minority group members have insights about the interpretations of their experiences that are likely different from those generated by majority group scholars. Andersen (1993) states "majority group scholars can develop and utilize tensions in their own cultural identities to enable them to see different aspects of minority experiences and to examine critically majority experiences and beliefs" (p. 43). Also concerned about variant standards of meaning, Facio (1993) recommends constructing feasible approaches to inquiry and analysis determined by the community's norms, values, and standards" in order to extract as much information as possible about the construction of everyday life.

Conceptual Constructs and Their Relationships

In an effort to engage in Minnich's challenge of "undoing traditional authority" (1990, p.148) and widen the circle of inclusiveness, I am particularly interested in methodological categories of question framing, rules of procedure and evidence, data reliability, researcher as learner and building rapport; and with epistemological questions of location, subjectivity, intersubjectivity, translation, representation, identity formation and group ethos. Embedded within each set of concerns are personal dynamics of ethics and human dignity. Each construct contains numerous dilemmas which must be contended with as one enters into research, makes decisions, and implements various stages of the research process. Selected issues will be discussed below.

For example, question framing suggests there are recommended or preferred, even required, rules of procedure and evidence while at the same time suggesting a privileging of such rules and preferences. What is also implied, moreover, is that how we frame questions will determine what evidence we can actually hope to document. Implicating all of these concerns, Lather (1990) struggles with questions of "to what extent does method privilege findings? What does it mean to recognize the limits of exactitude and certainty" (p. 124). To these questions one can add, whose knowledge counts? How are topics to be constructed? How can we recover unarticulated experiences through interviewing and participant observation? Theory is too often used to protect us from the awesome complexity of the world. Rather data allowed to generate propositions in a dialectical manner where the researcher engages with alternative frames of reference suggested by the study participants promises to be richer and more authentic.

No longer are questions of reliability grounded in theoretical arguments of textual authority. Rather more pragmatic and personal rationales are called for. Thus questions of data reliability warrant an examination of concerns about "distance" between the researcher and the subjects. Subjective data can be tremendously enriched by building rapport with study participants, by using words in interviewing that are familiar, by listening "around and beyond words" (DeVault, 1990, p. 101), in other words, getting close to those we hope to understand. In transcribing and writing up narrative, the practice of smoothing out respondents language often does little more than obscure the power of actual, often puzzling complex language. Issues of distance, or rather closeness, to study participants requires getting to know as much as possible about cross cultural difference and to make attempts at mutual understanding at the local level.

Regarding epistemological issues, the creation of knowledge and how it is we come to know what we know are in question. In fact, as Minnich (1990) states "by the time we reach the level of epistemology, what began as a limited particular set of excluding assumptions has been raised to the status of principles for knowing, of knowledge itself" (1972). Power, or more accurately networks of power, are at stake here. Epistemological questions challenge us to be self-conscious.

Specifically, translation issues move beyond the obvious need for researchers to present study participants as authentically as possible or the contemporary stance of researcher as meaning maker who draws upon his/her own experiences, knowledge, theory, and data. Translation issues, at a deeper structural level, concern the operational recognition of the subjective lens that researchers filter information through thus calling into question the language and discourse of those who not only translate experiences and perceptions of others but also reproduce ethnocentrism with dominant cultural bias or obsolete theory. Translation is never perfect. Each of us has unique viewpoints based on our origins of race, ethnicity, class, and gender, plus experiences gained due to being in these socially constructed categories.

Issues of representation squarely focus on what and who is real, what and who is valuable. Even when we "allow" Others to speak, when we talk for or about them we are taking over their voice. At the stage of research reporting we speak of authoring lives. It becomes extremely important to know whose voice is being promoted and heard, the researcher or the subject. Often, the author's voice comes through even when attempts are made to create space for the subject, in other words, "we are hearing two voices in one, or more precisely, one voice through another" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1989, p. 131) unless a multiplicity of voices is presented, each distinct as her/his own. What is called for here is a deconstruction of literary devices along with the deconstruction of textual authority and meaning making.

Ethical concerns regarding differences between researcher and subjects hinge on power relations; how power relations are acknowledged and managed, the stereotyping of dominant and subordinate positions within structuring relations, the cultural and political nature of dominant and subordinate positions, and the politics and sociology of exclusion and marginalization in relations. Smart (1983) encourages certain "methodological precautions" concerning the form, level, effect, direction and ideology of power. He calls for an analysis of power from a micro-level, ascending rather than descending, in other words, how techniques and mechanisms of power are appropriated at the level of everyday life rather than at "the summit of the social order" (p. 83) and its diffusion downward. What role do we as researchers play in this diffusion process?

The interaction of these methodological and epistemological concerns within the cross cultural paradigm exposes the criticality of border crossings where difference continues to be politically charged rather than a shared experience.

Basis for Proposed Theoretical Development

Those doing qualitative research are opening up in new ways to accommodate the experimentation of cross cultural inquiry. If this research is to clearly represent cultural differences within human pluralism, and at the same time be accepted into the academic discourse, then researchers need to be more cognizant that questions of methodology, epistemology and ethics need to be decided for only then can all voices get an equal hearing and only then can we deal with reality as it is. Questions of translation, question framing, subjectivity, identity formation and group ethos as well as the others mentioned above require reflection, debate, and explicit acknowledgement, which is more and more making its way into the reporting of cross cultural, and other forms of qualitative, research.

The more I do cross cultural research the more acutely aware I am of the significance of the methodological and epistemological questions I raise here. As Minh-ha says "the understanding of difference is a shared responsibility, which requires a minimum of willingness to reach out to the unknown" (1989, p.85). Those concerned with the human element in adult education practice will be held accountable by the diverse groups of color, women, gays and lesbians, and working and lower class individuals of all color groups.

Significance to Adult Education Practice

The prevailing anxieties of social change in the areas of political, economic, cultural and social arenas require theorists and practioners of adult education to critically reflect upon the equally shifting role of adult education in the United States. If we are to truly contribute to effective practice, responding to diverse and dynamic groups, we must examine our beliefs and practices of research to be truly relevant and authentic in our conclusions.

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ADULT EDUCATION ON-LINE

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Abstract: Does the addition of the electronic classroom change distance education from individualized study to social education? Experience suggests that it does, but computer-networked distance education needs to be critically evaluated by adult educators.

Introduction: Distance and Adult education

Although forms of distance education (DE) have been associated with adult education from the outset (correspondence schools, Frontier College, university extension, Farm Forum Radio), DE has not been a major area of interest within adult education discourse. This omission is perhaps understandable given the individualized focus of most modern DE. Borje Holmberg, a leading exponent of DE, opens his *Theory and Practice of Distance Education* with the sentence:

> Distance education is practised in all parts of the world to provide study opportunities for those who cannot -- or do not want to -- take part in classroom teaching (1995:1).

He goes on to state that:

> Usually students learn entirely individually and at their own pace. They then neither belong to a group or class, nor feel that they do so (1995:1).

While he notes there are many "exceptions to this rule" (and some of them are mainstream, for example tele- or video-conferencing) it nonetheless helps explain why adult education scholars, concerned with adult education as a dialogical and social activity, have ignored DE. If we accept Lindeman's comment that "true adult education is social education" (1947:55), then a form of learning which is individual, usually print-based, and verbally non-dialogical, cannot be considered as a viable form of "adult education". Even a looser definition of adult education that accepted multiple and diverse purposes for adult education, such as education for economy (vocational training) or liberal arts education, would not readily recognise the legitimacy of such an individualized and often technologically dependent form of education as "adult education". For example Collins' (1991) plea for all those engaged in adult education to recognise their "vocational commitment" makes scarce mention of DE. Collins goes on to question technocratic innovation and therefore he can be read as a critic of DE with its formulaic instructional design and delivery and its obsession with technology.

However, given the development within DE of the electronic classroom, we need to revisit this issue. The questions to be resolved include: does DE, particularly the electronic classroom enable open, critical, liberal adult education? Does it facilitate authentic dialogue: the blending of experience with other knowledge: and the pursuit of social educational aims (such as the promotion of participatory democracy and citizenship)? In order to explore these questions this paper will review and critically evaluate the potential offered by the addition to individualized print-based courses for adults of the "virtual classroom", that is the classroom made possible by computer-networking.[1]

The Virtual Classroom

Adult education requires interactive learning between both students and students, and students and tutor, which may be best achieved face-to-face. However, it is also the case that some of these elements can be achieved electronically. An argument can be made as to the relative merits of traditional classrooms and computer-network classrooms, but the first emphasis here should be on adult DE without a classroom compared to adult DE with a virtual classroom added. The virtual classroom goes beyond the limited possibilities for dialogue with the text, and perhaps a telephone tutor, offered by traditional DE to embrace interaction with other students, small group discussion, and open dialogue with the tutor. The computer-network can also aid individual contact between students and between students and third parties (for example by using "hot-links" to other sites embedded within the electronic course materials). Thus the educational experience is no longer isolated and individualized: the learning can become social and diverse. The very nature of DE -- as described by Holmberg -- is changed.

Electronic communications allows for easier contact within existing community or interest groups, or it can be a means by which contact can be maintained once the group is established. It can also be argued that electronic communication has called forth new social groupings but whether these are equivalent to new social movements or narrow interest groups has still to be determined. Our interest here is not so much with the informal learning possibilities of the Internet (the "Information Super Highway" could in any case be viewed as essentially a corporate transmission conduit[2]) but the non-formal and formal educational opportunities provided by computer-mediated conferencing and learning.

Some might claim that newer technologies can completely replicate the classroom but in my experience the type of interactions are different.[3] It is too early to be definitive about the strengths and weaknesses of the virtual classroom, sometimes it may appear to be "better" at others "worse" than a traditional seminar classroom, but it should be noted that the interaction achieved electronically is simply not the same as that achieved "face-to-face". For example, short comments seem to work best in computer conferences, more expansive and punctuated presentations do not, this is particulary accentuated in synchronous conferencing -- while some readers might welcome brevity, the point is that it results in a different mix, it changes the educational experience.

Limitations and Strengths of Electronic Delivery

The asynchronous nature of some conferences (with students entering comments on different days) works against focused discussion as individuals take up and reply to different points; the structure of an argument and the key issues can get lost. A contradiction that can develop when using computer conferencing is that easier access to the debate may not result in an issue being more fully explored: it can lead to students discussing only the "easier" aspects of a problem and deflect from the tougher questions which would have been dealt with in a classroom. Also a general invitation by the tutor to discuss a particular issue may go unheeded by the students; as Taylor has commented the skills required to moderate a live and an electronic conference are different (Spencer and Taylor, 1994:236).[4] It should also be acknowledged that computer conferencing privileges those with typing and computer skills over those without (a bias favouring women?), it favours written not oral communication and therefore discriminates against those with writing disabilities, such as dyslexia. This discussion is focusing on some of the limiting aspects of computer-mediated courses as a counterweight to the gushingly enthusiastic embrace of new technology and exaggerated claims made by some educational administrators and practitioners. For example, the claim that "computer-mediated communication traverses the oral/written continuum and encompasses qualities associated traditionally with both forms of communication" (Harrison and Stephen, 1995:25, drawing on Wilkins, 1991) is simply unsupportable since the form of communication used at present is "written" it is not "oral" and therefore the many qualities of oral communication cannot possibly be present.

There are, however, many positive aspects to the adoption of computer-networking techniques, for example:

* Class discussion is not cut off by the end of the traditional class meeting or by a coffee break
* The student does not have to gain the tutors eye in order to make a contribution
* It is more difficult for one person to dominate the debate as all can enter a comment
* Many traditional classrooms are non-dialogical, to be contrasted with an electronic course with a conferencing component
* Students gain from not being stereotyped by visual clues and may find making a presentation easier on-line than in front of a class
* Students with speech defects are not disadvantaged.

The types of interaction are also simply different, a written comment in a conference can be read and re-read, a comment made verbally in a traditional classroom has to be remembered or noted if it is to be recalled.

A lot of the "benefits" of an on-line classroom have been claimed but not carefully researched: for example, do "shy" students find it easier to contribute? Or are shy students in a classroom also likely to be shy (a "lurker") in the conference? Is the quality of contributions greater (reflecting the fact that students have more time to construct an answer before posting it) than those made in a traditional classroom? Or are they in fact shallower (reflecting the ease of adding a quick comment when at the screen)? Can students easily amend a position as they gain more information? Or do they feel bound to defend what was so publicly posted? Students gain from not being so easily typecast by their body shape, skin colour, gender (this is likely to be known but it is not "up-front" when a comment is being read), and accent; but they may lose from not having visual and tonal clues associated with traditional classroom communication (although in future computer conferences verbal and visual presentations may become popular). This may have other repercussions for example the kind of fierce debate which can go on in a classroom, the kind which is not personal once the right rapport has been established, may be difficult to reproduce on-line.

The Impact of the Virtual Classroom

Regardless of how all of these issues around the relative merits of electronic classrooms are resolved, the virtual classroom has changed DE.[5] It has also made DE a possible method for delivering a fuller range of adult education programs, and doing so across an even wider terrain than previously.

Given the state of current research into computer-networked delivery the questions still to be resolved are those outlined in the introduction. Dialogue is different when it is developed electronically, as is the group's social learning.[6] Experience to present, supports the view that distance delivery alone is less capable than face-to-face methods of providing for social education, but that is not a reason to dismiss DE's virtual classrooms and hallways.

The virtual classroom is a substantial advance on, indeed qualitatively different from, the isolated individualized learning of traditional distance education. Further, when it is combined with existing community it can support social objectives and do so across a wider terrain than is possible via traditional adult education means. But there is also a danger that the virtual classroom and the Internet will be fetishized. It can be used to support narrow aims and may not be critically examined by its advocates. It could be argued that these technologies -- which are also being used in traditional educational institutions as a supplement to other means of delivery -- were developed to help achieve economic goals of training and re-education of adults rather than social adult education[7]. However, given the shifts in funding and emphasis in educational provision for adults away from non-formal community-based provision, it is important for adult educators to consider the potential contradictions within the newly developed forms of DE and try to exploit these to achieve broader purposes. They do present opportunities for cooperative learning (McConnell, 1994) and, once the equipment is in place, can be more cost-effective than other alternatives.

Social Education On-line

We should not overlook the fact that there is differential access to computer-networking: indeed some commentators have suggested that computer ownership will become a defining characteristic of the "haves" and "have-nots" in the new information age. However, this is not an argument for ignoring new technology but rather an argument for making it communally and universally accessible. If we vacate the field it will only ensure that it is completely taken over by the privileged.

When students are linked in a community or environmental group, on-line education (in common with other education for adults), can become social education. Trying to recreate community in the electronic classroom becomes easier if the students themselves are committed to a real community or shared social purpose.

They can then use their "individualized" studies and their remote classroom as a basis for their community-based social action.

There are other examples of the use of DE technology as "social education" in community and economic development (Koul and Jenkins, 1990). Or as a component in an educational mix promoting community development (Spronk, 1994), which build on existing community links. In many instances in Canada and elsewhere it is colleges or local educational consortium who are taking the lead in establishing computer facilities in remote areas and using features like audiographics to link students to each other and the instructor.[8] We should also acknowledge that the educational purpose can be determined by the student alone: they can replace the institution's vocational credential purpose with a social goal. For example, students signing on for a traditional individualized DE three credit English language course may only be doing so because they have taken over as secretary of a community group and they wish to improve their communication skills.

Conclusion

DE can no longer be defined as "an education without a classroom". Distance educators can now become adult educators: "computer-mediated communications may allow distance ... educators to retrieve this important element (interaction) of adult education" (Taylor, 1996:284).

The new possibilities for an "electronic classroom" offered by dedicated networking systems such as Lotus Notes or by conferencing systems such as First Class, and by the Internet, Bitnet and World Wide Web need to be critically evaluated according to established adult education criteria. A proper evaluation means that critique must replace the "gushing enthusiasm" of the technology advocates.

Computer-mediated learning is affecting all education. Adults, reachable via computer and video DE techniques, are viewed as a new market opportunity by traditional educational institutions which now see their chance to be distance and adult educators. Adult educators need to critically influence this form of education. The inclusion of the electronic classroom and the opportunity for interaction within DE calls for recognition by adult educators of the possibilities for dialogical, social learning now offered by new technologies.

While the shift to social education may be aided by these technological advances it will depend, more importantly, on adult educators' ability to learn from the historical purposes of adult education and accept Collins' challenge to treat "adult education as vocation" (1991). If adult educators consciously engage with the external social conditions of students and link up with other educational and community projects they will achieve open, accessible, democratic, on-line adult education.

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Endnotes

1. See Evans and Nation (1989) for a critical assessment of traditional DE.

2. This is similar to a point made by Harasim (1996:205) who also argues the difference between knowledge transmission (the Information Super Highway) and knowledge creation via computer conferencing.

3. I taught the same graduate course – the "Foundations of Adult Education" – in the classroom (for the University of Alberta) and on-line with only a virtual classroom (for Athabasca University). Annand (1996) is researching the experiences of instructors in computer conferencing.

4. These issues need more research, they may reflect the "experiential" aspects of some kinds of knowledge as well as the limits of the current technology. They may also be partially resolved by improved instructional design and instructional practice.

5. As a colleague (Marco Adria) commented when asked by the author: "I do not know if the dialogue is authentic or not, but I do know that the possibility for such dialogue now exists". Marco has been involved with developing A U's Virtual Teaching and Learning (ViTAL) community.

6. Sometimes the technology fails and students are discouraged from engaging in extended debate. I have experienced the full range from students withdrawing from courses because of technical problems, to "servers" failing for a week, to phone lines being flooded out for a day.

7. I am referring here to the broad mix of DE methods and DE institutions, such as the British Open University. Computer-networking was primarily developed to serve the US military.

8. As illustrated by a presentation made at AU, 7th February 1996 by Alberta Vocational College, Lesser Slave Lake. The presentation discussed synchronous linkages between 5 sites (primarily in different Cree communities) each with 3/4 students, combining a tele-conference with a computer link.

Synergic Inquiry (SI): An Alternative Framework for Transformative Learning

Yongming Tang, Ph.D.

This paper discusses SI which intends to help address a number of challenges facing transformative learning teachers and researchers. The SI framework is briefly introduced with the focus on how it creates contexts, processes and catalysts for transformative learning as well as its relationships with some existing learning theories.

In the context of transformative learning, several challenges remain and deserve our attention. First, we need to clarify what transformation is and how it differs from change. Second, transformative learning teachers and researchers need to understand how to create appropriate contexts, processes, and catalysts for transformation to occur. The next challenge has to do with that transformative learning, currently defined and understood, is in nature Eurocentric and thus mostly limited to the logical/cognitive realm. This then begs the question that (1) whether transformative learning applies to cultures which are less logic-cognition based and (2) if so, whether we as teachers and researchers perpetuate Western intellectual imperialism. The challenge then is to create a new framework of different type, one that has the potential to engage with different cultures and peoples in a richer and more meaningful way. Finally, we face the challenge of fostering capacities within ourselves as well as adult students and larger populations.

In this short paper, I will present an alternative framework for transformative learning, one that intends to address those challenges. Given the limit of space, I will only outline SI in terms of purposes, steps, outcomes, as well as how it relates to other major transformative learning theories. The purpose of the paper is best treated to provoke ideas and conversations. For those who are interested in understanding some of its applications and outcomes please read Masaji Takano's paper and Carole Barlas' paper in the same volume. For those who are interested in having a broader understanding of the framework and its methodological processes please consult other writings (Tang, 1995, 1996; Tang & Joiner, 1997).

The SI framework

SI was developed out of both the author's personal experiences with cross-cultural differences and our domestic and international experimentations in various contexts. Over recent years, SI has been applied to settings as varied as individual development, synergic relationships, conflict resolution, team development, organizational development and transformation, community development, differences between races, ethnic groups, and genders. There have been cross-cultural applications of SI in China, Mexico, India, and the USA.

In a nutshell, SI is a transformative framework that provides conditions, contexts, and catalysts for problem-solving, learning, and growth by expanding human consciousness and capacities. SI is based on a grand pattern -- the Synergy Principle -- which Gregory Bateson (1979) called "the pattern that connects." This pattern is found in many natural sciences, social sciences, theories of evolution of the universe (of matter, life, and mind), Eastern wisdoms such as Taoism, the I-Ching philosophy, and integral philosophy, and in Western Hegelian dialectics (Tang, 1996; Tang & Joiner, 1997). The Synergy Principle is defined as the rhythmic dance of differentiating and integrating which facilitates the evolution of consciousness in matter, life, and mind. SI is then a framework that manifests the Synergy Principle to expand human consciousness and capacities.

In the SI framework, consciousness can simply be understood as the essential structure of human being that defines who we are and how we behave. Three dimensions of consciousness -- the visible, the logical, and the mythical -- can be conveniently used to reflect the essential structure of

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consciousness. The visible refers to behavioral/physical dimension of consciousness; these include metaphors, gestures, ways of expressions, customs, languages, technology, organization and so forth. This is usually what we can see and feel. The logical dimension refers to the epistemologies, ontologies, or rationalities through which we logically interpret the world. It is manifested in terms of theory, concept, law, or principle, which are primarily mechanisms for explaining how things work. The mythical refers to the mythical-symbolic dimension which goes beyond the logical. Encompassing our deepest beliefs, myth, faith, spirituality, the unsaid, the unthought and so forth, this is the deepest dimension of our human consciousnesses. It informs us about why the world is the way it is.

Expansion of consciousness is defined as those shifts in awareness, new learnings, and additions to awareness, skills, and capacities that occur in all of our lives. The SI framework creates an upward spiral of expanding awareness and improved capacities (see Figure 1). At the core of SI is an action-reflection cycle. After each phase of action work, a reflection process integrates the learning to oneself. To continually expand consciousness and capacities, SI has been conceived as synergy cycles. Within each synergy cycle there are two major processes, one for differentiating and one for integrating.

Differentiating

Differentiating is a critical process designed to identify, reflect upon, and differentiate participants' consciousnesses from each other. Two complementary phases are Self-Knowing and Other-Knowing, each of which has both action and reflection components.

Phase I. Self-Knowing. The purpose of *Self-Knowing Action* is to deepen awareness about one's own consciousness -- particularly the logical and mythical dimensions—which drives behavior. Normally, we are blind to our consciousnesses, and our interpretations of any phenomenon in the reality are inevitably projections of our own consciousnesses. Thus, without understanding one's own consciousness, one cannot truly expand and grow. *Self-Knowing Reflection* then helps participants to use what is learnt to re-interpret past and present experiences. Its intention is to integrate new learnings and discoveries about oneself and create opportunity to reinforce new learnings.

Phase II. Other-Knowing. *Other-Knowing Action* is about learning to cultivate consciousness(es) different from one's own. A major strategy that SI deploys to achieve this purpose is through embodying different consciousnesses. This has to do with putting oneself into another being, i.e., "living" the reality of others. *Other-Knowing Reflection* intends to use what is learnt about others to take another look at oneself, i.e., Self-Knowing. Being in the "shoes" of others creates a possibility for oneself to stand on another mental plane to take a new look at oneself, deriving new learnings and discoveries about oneself.

Integrating

In the integrating process, different consciousnesses within or without oneself dance with each other to create new outcomes. The differences between or among consciousnesses are used as resources to expand individual consciousnesses and capacities. This process also consists of two phases -- Differences-Holding and Differences-Transcending -- each of which also has both action and reflection components.

Phase III. Differences-Holding. *Differences-Holding Action* is to cultivate the capacity to hold different consciousnesses as equals. This is about creating a *both-and* mentality within oneself, transforming the usual *either-or* mentality in the Western cultural psyche. *Differences-Holding Reflection* is about integrating the new mentality and new learnings associated into oneself.

Phase IV. Differences-Transcending. *Differences-Transcending Action* is about creating a new consciousness -- *Synergic Consciousness* -- that goes beyond the limitation of the old. In other words, it is consciousness-transcending in that it breaks open old consciousness with new possibilities. As Albert Einstein is often quoted that "No problem can be solved by the same

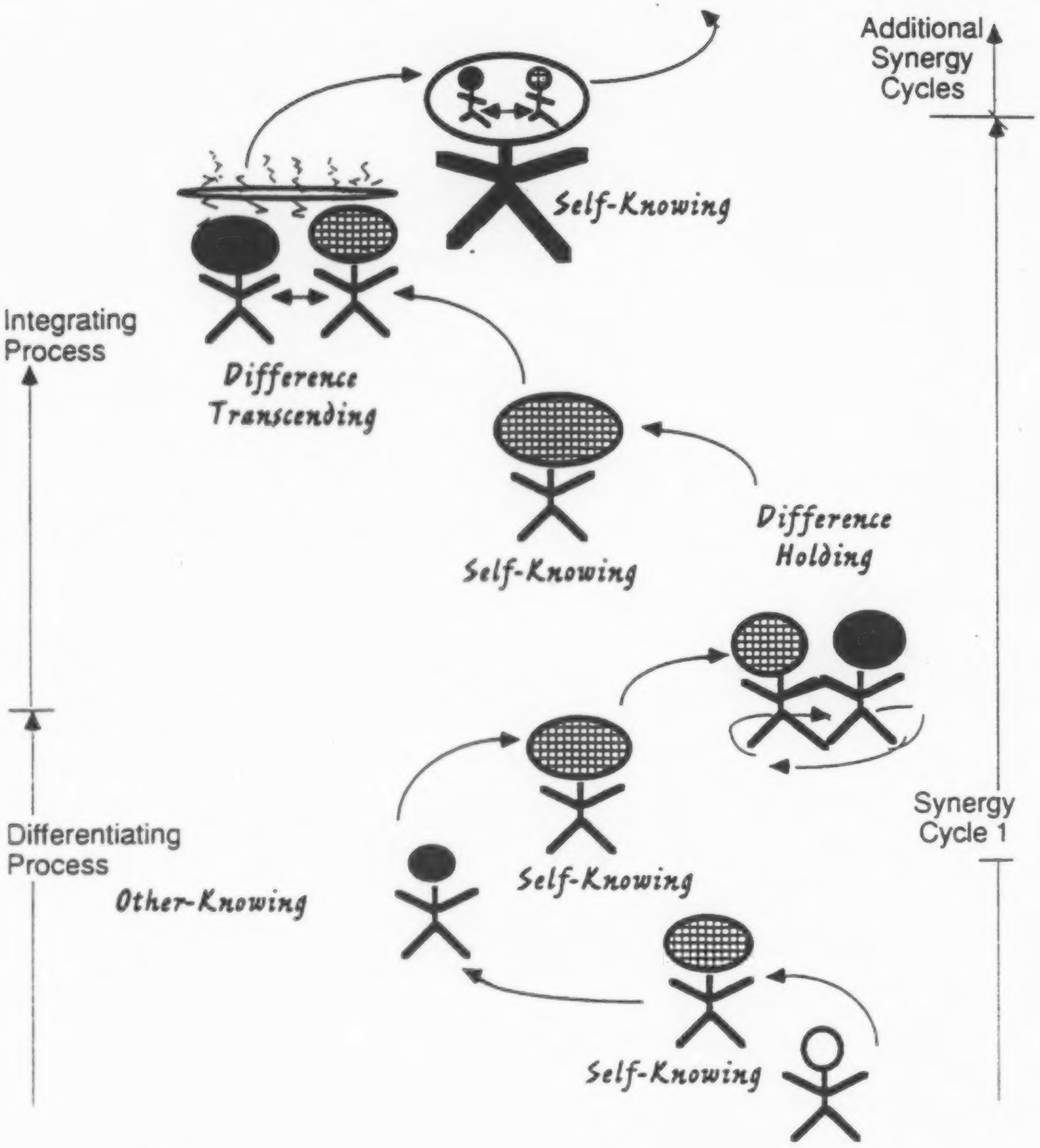
Additional
Synergy
Cycles
Self-Knowing
Integrating
Process
Difference
Transcending
Self-Knowing
Difference
Holding
Synergy
Cycle 1
Differentiating
Process
Other-Knowing
Self-Knowing
Self-Knowing

Figure 1. The Synergic Inquiry Framework

consciousness that created it," this new consciousness is categorically different (see the expanded figure with two stick-figures inside the brain) and is characterized by its ability to be process-oriented and dance with differences with the purpose of expanding consciousness. In other words, ideally this new consciousness embodies the Synergy Principle. Within individuals this new consciousness is creative and able to use differences as resources; In a collective context, it enables different consciousenesses to create something new and novel that goes beyond that which individual participants could do alone. This is about creating new knowledge or strategies to problem-solve or improve situation(s). *Differences-Transcending Reflection* is about helping integrate this new consciousness into oneself and reinforce new consciousness and behavior.

Additional Synergy Cycles

Expanding consciousness is an on-going process, and what is described above is only intentions and purposes. It does not guarantee that one will be able to achieve them within one synergy cycle at all. That is why synergy cycles are used to enhance learning and growth. The major purpose is to help participates to embody the Synergy Principle -- the universal process for evolving consciousness -- in their behaviors and beings. It is assumed that most problems and crises that face us are created by the limitation of consciousness and the challenging task for us is to accelerate expansion of consciousness and capacities.

Discussions

Now, I turn to addressing those challenges mentioned in the opening of the paper. In addition, I will also attempt to briefly touch upon how SI relates to some other learning theories in the literature. First, we need to clarify what transformation is and how it differs from change. Within the SI framework, transformation refers to expanding consciousness to such an extent that one engages with the world in a qualitatively different way. Change, in contrast, is incremental and quantitative. Such an expansion of consciousness may occur at two levels: logical and mythical. When it happens at the logical level, a set of rationalistic/logical values, assumptions, and beliefs that constitutes Jack Mezirow's (1990, 1991) meaning perspective takes place. This leads to a new logical reinterpretation of experiences and even a new or more complex paradigm, worldview, or meaning perspective.

When a transformative change occurs at the mythical level, however, a deeper transformation that goes beyond the logical dimension of transformation is resulted. When this happens, a new myth, spirituality, or faith is cultivated, that is, one's presuppositions about oneself and the nature of reality is shifted. Reflexively SI brings a new myth which is evolutionary and synergic in nature, described logically as the Synergy Principle, and creates various contexts and forms for participants to embody it so as to continually evolve and expand. This seems beyond the current transformative learning literature which is largely logic-cognition based.

This should not be a surprise, since Western theorists excel, in the meantime, are limited by the logical consciousness. Specifically, transformative learning, currently defined and understood, is in nature Eurocentric and is limited to the logical/cognitive realm. For example, some of the major learning theories such as transformative learning of meaning schemes and meaning perspectives (Mezirow, 1990, 1991), Argyris and Schon's (1979, 1995) single-loop and double-loop learning, and Bateson's (1972) Learning levels (I, II, and III) have one thing in common: that is, they all deal with learning within logical contexts and they seem to fail to see the mythical dimension of consciousness. Although these theories have made significant impacts on education and human development, it seems they have reached limitations of logic. Although Bateson (1972) actually acknowledged that Learning III might go beyond the reach of language as argued by Zen Buddhists, occidental mystics, and some psychiatrists, he still went ahead to discuss "what must (logically) be the case (p. 302)."

Western scientists and theorists tend to logicalize all phenomena in the reality and deny anything mythical or spiritual, an approach which constitutes one of the most significant obstacles for achieving world peace and harmony (Vachon, 1995). This should alarm and awaken us as transformative teachers and researchers. As Robert Vachon (1995) forcefully argues, the underlying causes for all of the problems and crises facing us cannot be cured, unless we transform at the mythical level of our consciousness. Intrinsic to the Western logical approach is its *either-or* dualist mentality which perpetuates Western imperialism over other cultures and peoples.

Therefore, let me pronounce that there is a myth underneath the SI framework and it should not be logicalized nor logically questioned. The aim of SI is to create an intelligent and effective form through which all can learn to embody the Synergy Principle for our own evolutionary journey. It is a process framework that enables individuals as well as cultures to engage with each other at an "equal-level playing field." This has made it possible for participants of different cultures and traditions to engage with each other in rich and meaningful ways. The multiple dimensions of consciousness within SI provides room and possibilities for multiple way of knowing and inclusivity.

Transformative learning teachers and researchers also need to know how to create appropriate contexts, processes, or catalysts for transformation to occur. Although transformation cannot be legislated, enabling contexts and conditions can be created. Each phase of SI intends to be transformative, and the intended transformations vary in type. One of the outcomes of Self-Knowing is the learning about the essential structure of one's own lenses through which s/he views the external world. An important transformative outcome for many is that reality is no longer objective and external to us; it is rather constructed through our own lenses, i.e., our consciousnesses project onto the external world. Such a realization enables one to detach and examine one's own consciousness, resulting in new behaviors. In Other-Knowing, when a participant attempts to embody another consciousness in its entirety, something significant emerges. As some participants commented, it is as if one is reincarnated into another being, thus engaging in the world in ways different from one's own.

In Differences-Holding, a major outcome is the capacity to equally hold different consciousnesses within oneself, rather than having one's own singular consciousness to understand (thus misinterpret), subjugate, or even dominate other consciousnesses. This is by far most significant and challenging to achieve. However, after one is able to do so, significant changes do occur (see Takano and Barlas papers in the same volume.). In Differences-Transcending, the transformative journey is enhanced by developing a new qualitatively different consciousness. In doing so, one has transformed into a process-oriented consciousness which is likely to embody the Synergy Principle to accelerate one's own consciousness expansion journey. This new consciousness has the promise of using the *power-with* dynamic to fundamentally transforming the *power-over* dynamic that underlies all sorts of ISMs such as racism, sexism, and anthropocentrism.

Finally, we face the challenge of cultivating transformative capacities for adults. SI intends to build capacities for expanding one's own consciousness as well as others. Skills and capacities associated with each stage of the process -- such as dancing with self and other, process and form, and holding contradictions -- are precisely the ones that come with Robert Kegan's (1994) 5th order consciousness persons, William Torbert's (1991) high quality individuals, and Geneva Gay's (1996) transformative leadership.

Many questions can be raised for or against SI in such facets as the paradigm it is grounded in, its methodological processes and interpretation mechanisms, and its "esoteric" nature. Although all these deserve exploring, one thing seem sure: it is not going to be easy to be accepted by most Westerners, because it goes beyond the predominant Western paradigm. To engage with the SI framework, a significant level of trust and faith has to be in place. However, given learnings from our experimentations in various contexts, it does seem to have a potential.

It is the aim of the SI to trigger, foster, nurture and accelerate expansion of consciousnesses of all kinds including those of transformative learning teachers and researchers. The intention within the SI approach is to expand our consciousnesses so that we can individually and collectively think anew, re-framing the world in ways which can healthily hold the whole together.

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A Narrative Assessment of Synergic Inquiry: Its Effectiveness in Fostering Transformative Learning in Cross-Cultural Settings

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Abstract: This empirical study examines the effectiveness of Synergic Inquiry as a practical methodology for fostering transformative learning experience in cross-cultural settings. The study qualitatively analyzes the life narratives of participants who engaged in action-oriented projects conducted abroad that applied the Synergic Inquiry framework.

Introduction

Interactions among people from different cultures have been expanding rapidly. This trend calls for higher capacities for dealing with cultural differences. In traditional cross-cultural studies, cultural difference has been mostly treated as a barrier to overcome. This tendency is clearly reflected in the commonly used term "culture shock," which implies a sort of terror. A cross-cultural encounter, however, can also be seen as a powerful opportunity for transforming and/or expanding one's perspective, which unfortunately has not been well investigated yet though there are some exceptions (e.g., Adler, 1975; Kim, 1988; Kim & Ruben, 1988; Mansell, 1981; Taylor, 1994a, 1994b; Yoshikawa, 1987).

Synergic Inquiry developed and advocated by Dr. Yongming Tang (1996a, 1996b) is a relatively new framework for fostering such transformative learning in cross-cultural settings. In practice, several action-oriented research trips (*Synergy Projects*) have been conducted in some foreign countries. This empirical study investigates the transformative experiences of the participants in these projects and consequently accesses the effectiveness of Synergic Inquiry as a catalyst for cross-cultural transformative learning in adults.

Overview of Synergic Inquiry

Synergic Inquiry

Synergic Inquiry is a "transformative action methodology that provides conditions, contexts, and catalysts for cultivating capacities for problem-solving, learning, and growth by expanding human consciousness" (Tang, 1996b, p. 1). The methodology focuses on utilizing various differences in people's perspectives. Such differences are "not regarded as sources of friction and conflict, but as sources of wisdom and learning" (Tang, 1996b, p. 1). Theoretically, Synergic Inquiry builds on the synergy principle of the universe--a grand pattern that exists in various contemporary theories in both natural and social sciences as well as Eastern wisdom traditions and the Western philosophy of dialectics. Synergic Inquiry has been used to experiment with varied contexts--i.e., individual development, relationship, team work, organizational development, community development, race and gender relations, as well as cross-cultural interactions. (For more theoretical understanding of Synergic Inquiry and its relation to transformative learning theories, please refer to Yongming Tang in the same volume. For its applications in transformative learning in some other contexts, please consult Carole Barlas' paper also in the same volume.)

In essence, Synergic Inquiry adopts a four-step process. *Self-Knowing* is a step to examine one's own structure of consciousness (e.g., values, beliefs, and assumptions). *Other-Knowing* is a step for learning to cultivate a consciousness different from one's own.

Differences-Holding is yet another step that facilitates learners to hold different consciousnesses equally and create a both-and mentality, replacing the either-or mentality. *Differences-Transcending* is a step in which learners utilize embodied different consciousnesses as resources to create new knowledge, strategies, and solutions that go beyond the limitations of each single consciousness. At the core of this transformative process is a circular system for continually expanding human consciousness--i.e., the *action-reflection cycle*, which is manifested in all the four major steps of the process.

Synergy Project

The Synergic Inquiry framework has been put in practice as Synergy Projects in various cross-cultural settings. Since 1994, four projects trips have been conducted in China, India, and Mexico. In each of these projects, the participants engaged in cross-cultural research activities along the Synergic Inquiry framework, typically for three weeks, in a certain organizational setting, in order to produce creative solutions for some practical issues in the organization. That is, they first clarified the two culturally different perspectives around the given issues, through in-depth interviews, continuous self-reflection including journal keeping, and daily group meetings (Self-Knowing & Other-Knowing). Then, they were expected to internalize each of the two perspectives as deeply as possible, in order to prepare the foundation for cultivating a new perspective beyond the original two (Differences-Holding). Lastly, they attempted to create synergic solutions for the issues, which would not have been available if they had remained within either of the two cultural perspectives (Differences-Transcending). Such a process of synergistic activities is expected to foster the emergence of expanded consciousness beyond the polarities of the two cultures.

Method

This study employs an interpretive research methodology, narrative analysis, especially as espoused by narrative psychologists Jerome Bruner (1986) and Donald Polkinghorne (1988). Eight adults students (5 women and 3 men; 5 Caucasian Americans, 2 African Americans, and 1 non-American Asian; age 31 to 53) from a graduate institute in California, who had participated in one or more Synergy Projects, were interviewed. Along with the hermeneutic research paradigm, each interviewee was viewed as a co-researcher and was interviewed twice. In the first interviews, the co-researchers told their life stories about the transformation and/or expansion of consciousness through the Synergy Projects. In the second interviews, the researcher and the co-researchers collaboratively inquired the deeper meanings in their life stories derived from the first interviews--especially regarding how the Synergic Inquiry framework affected their unique, transformative learning experiences, under the influence of each co-researcher's unique personhood and life context as well as encountered various cultural differences. Transcripts of these interview sessions were the main source for analysis. The researcher clarified narrative plots of the co-researchers' transformative learning experiences and further compared them with the theoretical framework of Synergic Inquiry, which was viewed as the ideal narrative plot, in order to access in a qualitative manner how effectively it enhanced their transformative learning.

Results

Due to the limit of space, only a small portion of one co-researcher's narrative in China and its brief analysis will be presented. Although it cannot reveal the full complexity and richness of her experience, it will convey some qualities of the participant's transformative learning experience commonly seen in the Synergy Projects.

Narrative of Lisa

Lisa is an European American woman in her mid forties who has been a school teacher for nearly 20 years. The main episode in her narrative is a few-hour interview with Chinese teachers. At the beginning of the interview, she thought that they had the same heart-felt care for children as she had. She was just very happy to sense deep connection with them as a teacher. She said:

> These teachers really cared about the children. The things that they were saying really echoed how I was feeling. Their hospitality was beautiful. They had real hearts that were open to someone who was a colleague. I was a teacher and so were they.

She soon realized, however, that she and they did not necessarily share the same heart and mind. Asking them deeper questions based on her assumptions about the translated words, she kept receiving different answers from what she intuitively assumed were in their replies. Eventually, she noticed that they were using the same words with different meanings. She said, for instance, "Their motivations were really about punishment and reward. Very different from my internal motivations. It was very different from what I had originally thought." That difference in the meaning of motivation was surprising to her. She told me how she actually felt about the Chinese way of using punishment and reward for motivating children with the following example:

> They were talking about a handicapped child that the other children took care of. Well, in my way, the taking care of would have come from the children wanting to be with that child, and this was, they were given points and buttons and flowers for taking care of that child, you know. This is reward again, this whole kind of thing of reward. So when I listened to them talk about taking care of, it had a real different aspect. For me, it comes from the heart, or this was my assumption. And their caring comes from duty. And I don't want to make a judgment on which is better, heart or duty. But it's still there. I mean, the caring for is still there, but it just wasn't in my way. And I was assuming that this was my way.

She could not accept their way. Even though she did not want to judge it wrong, it did not make sense to her. She felt disappointed because their way of motivating children focusing on conformity and settlement in the group seemed to repress the personal growth of each individual child, which is the most important aspect of education from her perspective. Then, she further explored internally why she felt so disappointed and noticed her underlying expectation for the encounter with the Chinese teachers.

> I wanted to find similarities. Especially this camaraderie of teachers trying to teach children. I really wanted to find similarities.... Wanting to say yes, we are the same. And then a bit of a disappointment at finding that we're not necessarily the same. You know, I kept looking for the similarities.

In her mind, she was trying to convince herself that each perspective was valid in its own cultural environment. It was difficult for her, however, to feel at ease with the idea that she and they were just different with no right or wrong. It was hard for her not to judge them from her perspective because she kept expecting to see similarities. In such disequilibrium, the disappointment perplexed her.

Having some nonverbal support from a colleague interviewing with her, however, she consciously attempted to give up the pursuit for similarities and to just listen. Then, she gradually stepped into a new stage of learning--being with a different culture in a fully open manner, without framing it from her perspective and making any judgment. She described the feeling of being in such openness as follows:

> When you are open and just be, there's children's song about that, you know, you can have it all if you let yourself be. It's a Donovan song actually. Then you see more. It's like you have eyes in the back of your head, you know. More comes in because you don't have so many filters of trying to make it the same. So more sense perceptions, more observations, more .. essences come into your soul in a way, you know. Rather than trying to frame them.

By removing the "filters," she started to experience the differences of the Chinese teachers more freely. The deeper openness, however, was also a painful experience. She said, "When you're so open, in a way, you're almost raw." It felt too raw to be fully exposed to the Chinese cultural reality by suspending all of her judgments because she felt it was like "having no skin." She sometimes wanted to put back her own, familiar filters to protect herself from the rawness. Yet it was not a constant disorientation. Rather she repeatedly went back and forth between the feeling of openness and the feeling of rawness and gradually got used to that sense of rawness. Then, her disappointment was finally resolved. Although her yearning for the familiar did not change and the feeling of rawness never dissolved totally, she became able to feel comfortable with the differences, especially at the end of the interview. That comfort further led her to a deeper sense of connection with the Chinese teachers.

Analysis of the Narrative in the Light of Synergic Inquiry

During the few-hour interview, she obtained deep open-mindedness toward the Chinese teachers. It was not a sudden shift in her mind, but rather a gradual process of learning a new way of being with differences, which was accompanied by painful feelings of becoming aware of her own perspective and attempting to detach from it.

At first, hearing the Chinese teachers' talks based on her own assumptions as a teacher, she simply sensed that they had the same feeling of care for children. Yet, she soon became disappointed to realize that there were some serious gaps between her and their perspectives. In such an interaction, as the first Self- and Other-Knowing, she became aware of the assumptions in her teaching style as well as their different style.

Through a further Self-Knowing attempt of exploring intentionally why she was feeling so disappointed, she then noticed that she had a compelling expectation for finding similarities with the Chinese teachers. Intellectually, she was trying to follow the Synergic Inquiry process and accept the Chinese perspective as her Other-Knowing, but she was emotionally judging the Chinese teachers because they went against her expectation of finding similarities.

Noticing such an expectation and the imbalance between head and heart, however, she could try to detach from the unconscious pursuit for similarities. Then, she stepped into much deeper Other-Knowing with fuller open-mindedness, which was accompanied by another uncomfortable feeling of rawness; she wanted to put back her own perspective to protect herself.

Going back and forth between the openness to the different perspective and the withdrawal from the pain of rawness, she finally reached a state of being comfortable with differences without losing the yearning for her own perspective. It could be seen as the beginning of Differences-Holding, in which she tried to hold the two perspectives as equally as possible.

Discussion

The data as a whole indicate that all the co-researchers, during and/or even after the project experiences, went through transformation and/or expansion of their original perspectives. The contents and depth of their learning experiences are quite diverse, based on their cultural backgrounds, personal life contexts at the time, expectations for the projects, past life histories (including cross-cultural experiences), and general self- and world-perceptions. For instance, Frances obtained a new identity as a dark-skin person beyond her African-American identity and even decided to change her profession, through her encounter with the non-materialistic life of the Tamil people in India. In contrast, Tracy just accumulated her experience of openly hearing and letting in Chinese collectivistic perspectives and deeply reflected on it after coming back to the U.S., which eventually transformed her individualistic perspective. Ichiro, a Japanese, deepened his understanding of the American perspective in China, through his involvement in the interaction between Americans and Chinese with whom he identified more strongly as an Asian.

The further analysis of the data suggests that Synergic Inquiry played an important role in such transformative learning experiences, particularly by encouraging, both explicitly and implicitly, a continuous process of "action" (embracing culturally different perspectives) and "reflection" (questioning their own assumptions) as shown in Lisa's narrative. That is, it seems to have provided them with a basic guideline for how to act against cultural differences in learning. Further it facilitated how to deal with various internal reactions, including negative feelings, against inescapable immersion into differences.

Still, the data also show that many of them occasionally had difficulty or even forgot to follow the Synergic Inquiry framework, especially when the other's way of being went against strongly held beliefs and/or when co-researchers experienced intense emotional resistance against the encountered differences. Rita, for instance, tried to accept a new idea of human unity in India, but could not really hold back her judgments because she had been seriously pursuing a totally different image of human unity as a social activist. Diane promptly perceived the relationship between Europeans and Tamils in India as oppression from her African-American perspective, felt very angry with that, and was able to explore deeply, neither their different perspectives nor her own.

It is also notable that the project participants implicitly encouraged each other a great deal during the trips by sharing the same process for transforming and/or expanding their perspectives. Lisa was nonverbally supported by a colleague in attempting to give up her expectation for similarities. Rita was also encouraged to hold back her judgments and embrace different perspectives as well as her own by just observing her peers; she said, "If they can do it, I can do it." Such a collaborative context for the projects seems to have helped them be more able to resolve the judgments and discomforts accompanying the Synergic Inquiry process of transformative learning.

As a result of such transformative learning experiences, they seems to have obtained some lasting capacities which are applicable to their daily lives--such as, withholding judgments, openly accepting different perspectives, tolerating ambiguous situations, consciously exploring assumptions as cultural conditioning, and holding different perspectives. In addition, most of them shifted their perception of differences in general, from a negative image reflecting difficulty and obstruction to something less uncomfortable. Their shifted perception contains potentials for learning. Some are even willing to actively learn from differences and further, want to help mediate conflicts among people with differences.

These capacities, however, are mainly related only to Self-Knowing and Other-Knowing stages of Synergic Inquiry. In the analysis of the data, the narrative plot of Differences-Holding is seen less often and that of Differences-Transcending is even less. It seems that many of them, again as seen in Lisa's narrative, at least stepped into the stage of Differences-Holding, but mostly did not reach the state of holding two perspectives equally. This could be chiefly attributed to the shortness of the three-week project design as well as the more demanding and time-consuming nature of these two tasks.

Overall, it is concluded that Synergic Inquiry served as an essential driving force for transforming and/or expanding the project participants' perspectives in different cultures. Although the encounter with different cultures itself embodies high potentials for both learning/growth and stressful alienation, Synergic Inquiry can be a practical tool for smoothing and accelerating the transformative learning aspect of cross-cultural experience.

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IMPLICIT MEMORY AND TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING THEORY: UNCONSCIOUS COGNITION

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Abstract

Recent research has found that the transformation of meaning structures (schemes and perspectives) can occur without critical reflection. This phenomenon seems to be explained by a concept called implicit memory—the unconscious development of thoughts and actions. This paper involves a review of related literature on implicit memory from the fields of neurobiology and psychology and its implications for the theory and practice of transformative learning.

Introduction. There has been a notable increase in research over the past decade in the area of memory. This advancement has been fueled by both the field of psychology (the study of cognition, information processing) (Johnson & Hasher 1987; Kihlstrom, 1987; Roediger, 1990) and neurobiology (involving the anatomy, physiology, and pathology of the nervous system) (Schacter, 1996; Squire, 1987). One area in particular that has received considerable attention is the study of implicit memory—unconscious cognitive processing of past experiences that influence our thoughts, perceptions, and actions. This research comes at an opportune time in the ongoing study and debate of Mezirow's transformative learning theory. Recently a review of related empirical studies in the field of adult education found that for some participants a perspective transformation was not dependent upon critical reflection (Taylor, In press). Meaning structures seem to be altered on an unconscious level outside the awareness of the individual, without a deliberate rational examination of assumptions on which the structures were based via introspection or by discourse with others of differing viewpoints. Despite the significance of these studies on transformative learning, their methods are limited in providing an in-depth explanation of a transformation outside the focal awareness of the participant and the related implications. Recent studies involving implicit memory reveal that a great deal of learning (information processing) takes place outside our working memory, on an unconscious level, and it has a tremendous influence on how we look at the world (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Roediger, 1990; Schacter, 1996; Schacter, Chiu, & Ochsner, 1993; Schacter, 1992; Squire, Knowlton, & Musen, 1993). Furthermore, since much of implicit memory is inaccessible by introspective methods this also has significant implications for the role of critical reflection in the fostering of transformative learning. Therefore the purposes of this paper are twofold: 1) to describe the nature of implicit memory based on a review of the contemporary research in psychology and neurobiology and how it contributes to the understanding of transformative learning, and 2) to explore the implications that implicit memory has for critical reflection and the fostering of transformative learning.

Transformative Learning. Since 1978 the theory of transformative learning, as defined by Jack Mezirow from his study of women returning to school, has stimulated much discussion in the field of adult education. Transformative learning is "defined as the social process of construing and appropriating a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience as a guide to action" (Mezirow, 1994, p. 222-223). The process of making meaning is shaped and circumscribed by meaning structures. It is the revision of meaning structures from experiences that is addressed by the theory of perspective transformation. Seen as essential to transformative learning is critical reflection. Critical reflection is the conscious and explicit reassessment of the consequence and origin of our meaning structures (our orientation to perceiving, knowing, believing, feeling, and acting). It "is a process by which we attempt to justify our beliefs, either by rationally examining assumptions, often in response to intuitively becoming aware that something is wrong with the result of our thought, or challenging its validity through discourse with others of differing viewpoints and arriving at the best informed judgment" (Mezirow, 1995, p. 46). However, recent studies (Hunter, 1980; Taylor, 1994) on transformative learning have shown, some participants who experienced a perspective transformation responded to the initiating disorienting dilemma with little or no questioning of their values and assumptions. Instead of critically reflecting on their experience, they seem to respond with unmediated perception, trusting their reaction of direct apprehension and sensory understanding such that the transformation took place on an unconscious and implicit level. Taylor (1994) found in a study on the learning process of intercultural competency that some participants showed little conscious connection between the cultural disequilibrium, possible learning strategies, and their change towards competency. They seem to prefer, instead of critical reflection, thoughtful action and an experiential learning approach to intercultural challenges, with little questioning of the validity of presuppositions of prior learning experiences from their primary culture. One possible explanation for this transformation without reflection lies within the study of implicit memory. Mezirow (1991) in his writing about transformative learning theory recognized the importance of implicit memory as integral in the interpretation and making of meaning of an experience, but does not give it the attention it deserves in influencing change in meaning structures (schemes and perspectives). An explanation of this unconscious change in meaning structures may lie in the research on implicit memory.

Memory: Explicit and Implicit. In psychology the classical model of human cognition saw consciousness as a higher mental processes made up of explicit memory (declarative). Consciousness was the cognitive staging area that holds memories, precepts, actions for attention and rehearsal. On the other hand nonconscious mental life, implicit memory (nondeclarative), was seen as only involving latent memory traces and early preattentive processes (feature detection and pattern recognition) and was having little influence on conscious experience, thought, and action. In the classical model the unconscious was indicative of products of the perceptual system that were unrehearsed, memories lost from short-term memory, due to a lack of processing or decay before they were stored in long-term memory. There was little or no appreciation for the significance of implicit memory in its influence on consciousness (Squire, Knowlton, & Musen, 1993).

Recent research in long-term memory has changed this classical view of implicit memory. Our understanding has moved from a rather monolithic view of long-term memory, to one that is less hierarchical, involving several different kinds of memory systems, each playing a significant role in defining who we are as a person (Squire, Knowlton, Musen, 1993). One system is explicit (declarative) and conscious, involving the limbic and neocortex parts of the brain. This form of memory is also more sensitive and prone to interference, but it is also invaluable, providing the ability for personal autobiography and cultural evolution (Johnson & Hasher, 1987). A second system, which is the focus of this paper, is implicit (nondeclarative) which involves the unconscious development of thoughts and actions. Implicit memory can be received, stored, and recovered without the participation of the limbic system and outside the conscious awareness of the individual. These memories seem to be long term, consistent and reliable, providing an array of nonconscious ways to respond to the world. From implicit memory emerge habits, attitudes, and preferences inaccessible to conscious recollection but these are nonetheless shaped by former events, influence our present behavior, and are an essential part of who we are (Roediger, 1990).

Forms of Implicit Memory. Research in the area of psychology and brain pathology, particularly working with amnesic patients, has begun to identify several forms of implicit memory (nondeclarative) dependent upon a variety of neurological systems (Roediger, 1993: Schacter, 1996; Squire, Knowlton, Musen, 1993). These tentative forms involve the learning of procedural and category-level knowledge, conditioning, and priming. Procedural knowledge are skills and habits, inclusive of perceptual and cognitive abilities, which research has shown can be learned and improved upon outside one's focal awareness. Existing neural evidence suggest that skills and habit learning are different from declarative memory. Research with Parkinson patients who had a brain pathology of the corticostriatal system (projections from the neocortex to the caudate and putamen) were found to be impaired on noncognitive skill task, but demonstrated little difficulty with the declarative memory task of recall and recognition. "These differential effects have been interpreted in terms of two qualitatively different memory systems, a system that supports cognitive (or declarative memory) and a second system, involving the caudate and putamen, that supports noncognitive habit memory" (Squire, Knowlton, Musen, 1993, p. 476).

A second form of implicit memory is category-level knowledge, which is the ability to classify information based on natural categories (e.g., plants and animals) and the implicit acquisition of rules often found in grammar. Grammar is a particularly a good example of implicit memory, where people have acquired abstract rules, but are unable to articulate what guides their speech and writing. This category knowledge has also been shown to operate independently of declarative memory (explicit) and may be another indicator of a separate brain system involving implicit memory (Squire, Knowlton, Musen, 1993).

A third form is conditioning, which involves learning a simple conditioned response, best understood in relation to emotions such as fear, where people's actions in dangerous situations are often based on nondeclarative thought. Also research with amnesic patients, found participants exhibited progressive learning and 24 hr retention of a conditioned eyeblink response, despite inability to describe the apparatus or what it had been used for (Squire, Knowlton, Musen, 1993). This means that conscious awareness of certain knowledge is not necessary for conditioning to occur and learning can take place on an implicit level. Also particular brain structures have been found to be essential for conditioning such as the cerebellum for the skeletal musculature and the amydala for emotions.

The fourth form and the most researched memory phenomenon in amnesia in relation to implicit memory is priming (Schacter, 1992; 1996; Schacter, Chiu, & Ochsner, 1993; Squire, Knowlton, Musen, 1993) . Priming is the "facilitated ability to identify, or make judgments about , target stimuli as a consequence of a recent exposure to them" (Schacter, 1992, p. 11113). In essence, amnesic patients could be influenced by recent experiences that they failed to recall consciously. A typical experiment involves a list of words, pictures, or novel objects which are viewed by the research participants. Following this initial review participants are tested again after a predetermined period of time with both new and old items. They are asked to name words or objects, to produce words from fragments or make quick decisions about new and old items. Findings reveal that participants response is better for old than new items. Priming betters the fluency and speed by which an individual responds to a familiar stimuli (Squire, Knowlton, Musen, 1993). Research with amnesic patients has shown priming to be fully intact, as measured by word stem completion and perceptual identification (Schacter, 1993). Each of these forms of implicit memory begins to create a picture of learning that not only operates as a separate system in the brain, but also has a tremendous influence over our thoughts and actions. Furthermore it operates outside our conscious awareness and ability to reflect, and has the potential to contribute to a transformation of meaning structures.

Amnesia: The Study of Memory. Much of the research on implicit memory has derived support from studies of brain-damaged patients, most significantly amnesics. Typically amnesics, due most often to some brain injury, are incapable of retaining knowledge of new experiences but other cognitive functions remain intact. They generally demonstrate normal performance on short term memory task (recall and recognition test), but fail miserably on long-term memory task. Through a variety of experiments it was found that that "amnesic patients could indeed be influenced by recent experiences that they fail to recollect consciously" (Schacter, 1996, p. 166). Much of this influence seems to occur through priming.

Schacter (1996) tells an interesting story where a patient named Barbara, in her mid 20's contracted encephalitis which resulted in a loss of memory of large chunks of her personal past and much of her general knowledge of routines, facts of everyday life. Eventually she was able to learn to read and write again, but the disease left a profound amnesic syndrome, such that she could only handle simple clerical task. Schacter believed that he could help Barbara by tapping into her implicit memory abilities, such as teaching her skills and knowledge to deal with everyday challenges, such as keeping a job. In particular, he used a computer that was programmed to provide a repeated portion of a program based on the memory of the user. In essence the computer records how many hints the amnesic individual requires to carry out the program. If she can't complete a particular task, cues start to appear until she correctly completes the task. Barbara was trained to file information in a computer data base. After six-months of training with the priming of information Barbara was able to work effectively on the computer data-base system. She eventually learned over 250 different rules, symbols and codes. However, since Barbara relies heavily on implicit memory to learn complex task it does come with some disadvantages, such that the memory acquired through priming is quite inflexible. In essence, she responds to a visual perception of commands, without any in-depth comprehension, suggesting that she lacks deep understanding of the underlying concepts of how the information is filed in the computer.

Implicit Memory and Perspective Transformation. Barbara's story as well as the other research on the different forms of implicit memory reveal the existence of subterranean world of nonconscious memory that has a tremendous influence on how we think and act. It would seem only obvious that implicit memory would also have influence on the transformation of meaning structures outside our focal awareness. As a review of recent research on transformative learning revealed (Taylor, In press) some participants experienced a perspective transformation without critical reflection, such that it seem to occur on an implicit level. One explanation for the change in meaning perspectives among the participants, independent of reflection and conscious awareness, is understanding their implicit learning of new skills and habits. As mentioned earlier skills and habits (procedural knowledge), such as driving a car or riding a bike, are often nonreflective actions that "take place outside focal awareness in what Polanyi (1967) refers to as tacit awareness" (Mezirow, 1991, p. 106). They can be learned and improved upon outside one's conscious awareness. For example, when individuals attempt to live in a new culture they have to develop many new habits, such as local greetings, customs, and daily routines. Particularly new participants working in developing countries often struggle with the elements (e.g.,weather, scarcity of water, insects, sanitation) on a daily basis and have to develop new ways to lessen the impact the elements have on their lives. Accomplishing many taken-for-granted routines (e.g., preparing for bed) from their primary culture can require participants to develop new and sometimes elaborate routines (ensuring a mosquito free environment) in the host culture. Over time these daily routines become habit, operating at an implicit level. This suggests that possibly by the very act itself of taking on and practicing new skills and habits without reflection, meaning structures are altered on an unconscious level. A perspective transformation could also be explained by other forms of implicit memory. For example, consider people who are vulnerable to change due to a recent disorienting dilemma in their life. They very often begin responding to events and relating to others in new and different ways but can't explain where, how, or why they learned these new behaviors. Much of this change could be explained by conditioning—unconsiously learned behaviors in response, for example, to stress or fear. However since many of these new habits, skills, behaviors are inaccessible via introspection what is the role of critical reflection in relationship to implicit memory?

Role of Critical Reflection in Memory. As research from the field of neurobiology and psychology begins to provide insight into the change of meaning perspectives on an implicit level it also raises issues about the role of critical reflection in the fostering of transformative learning, since many of these implicit memories are inaccessible through introspection. There has been "a swing from interest in deliberate strategies to interest in automatic, unconscious (even mechanistic!) processes, reflecting an appreciation that certain situations (e.g., recognition, frequency judgments, savings in indirect task, aspects of skill acquisition, etc.) seem not to depend much on the products strategic, effortful or reflective processes" (Johnson & Hasher, 1987, p. 655). In essence, people can demonstrate many skills, tasks, and cognitive abilities, though are unable to explain how they occur and where or when they learned them. One area that sheds further light on this phenomena is research in the field of psychology that has explored the effect of verbal processing and reflection on memory. Studies in this area have shown that giving attention to implicit memories through verbal processing, particularly with an intent to recall previously seen visual stimuli (faces), interferes with retrieval. (Schooler & Engstler-Schooler, 1990). In a series of six experiments it was found that the "the verbalization of a visual memory, such as a face, can foster the formation of a nonveridical (untruthful) verbally-biased representation corresponding to the original visual stimulus. Access of this verbally-biased representation can then interfere with subjects ability to make use of their intact visual code" (p. 62). Many nonverbal stimuli (e.g., faces) cannot be adequately recalled in words, but can be recalled visually. Recollection in the same modality can be veridical (genuine), such that verbalization did not impair one's verbal memories.

Other findings "hypothesize that contrary to conventional wisdom, introspection is not always beneficial and might even be detrimental under some circumstances" (Wilson & Schooler, 1991, p. 181). A good example is the skills involved in riding a bicycle, a task most of us can do easily, but when we attempt to retrieve from memory and explain the skills involved our automatic behaviors can be disrupted. Further research demonstrated that reflecting on the reasons we make, at times can lead to decisions and preferences that contradicted expert opinion and reduced peoples satisfaction with their choices. These studies "suggest that it may not always be a good idea to analyze the reasons for our preferences too carefully" (p. 191). Consistent with these studies it has been found that participants who were aware of how and why they felt about a particular object and could easily verbalize related attributes, were more immune to the negative effects associated with introspection. This research does not rule out the need for introspection, but recommends that at times, an unexamined choice is worth making. It means trusting what you learned on an implicit level and not always resorting to critical reflection when reasoning and making decisions.

This emphasis on trusting one's implicit memory and its relationship to introspection seems to be consistent with other earlier research that encourages a more whole-person approach when fostering transformative learning. Multiple studies infer to its significance in a variety ways, such as intuition (Brooks, 1989), affective learning (Clark, 1991; Scott, 1991; Sveinunggaard, 1994), and the guiding force of feelings (Hunter, 1980; Taylor, 1993). The Group for Collaborative Inquiry (1994) in a recent study reconceptualizing transformative learning process identified the significance of whole person learning—"awareness and use of all the functions we have available for knowing, including our cognitive, affective, somatic, intuitive, and spiritual dimensions" (p. 171). In essence, the more ways of knowing we engage the easier it will be to trust what we know implicitly.

In conclusion, I believe greater attention needs to be given to the role of memory, particularly implicit memory that occurs outside our conscious awareness in relationship to transformative learning. The study of implicit memory from the field of psychology and neurobiology offers adult education practitioners new insights for the challenging practice of fostering transformative learning and it offers adult education research, a practice often devoid of the hard sciences, a greater understanding of essential components of transformative learning theory.

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Innovation as knowledge and learning

Abstract

Innovative small and medium enterprises now play a vital role in the economy, but their survival often depends on being at the leading edge of their field. Without an abundance of time or money for education or training, they rely heavily on obtaining knowledge informally through a variety of channels.

Introduction

Workplace learning takes many forms, the most obvious of which is formal qualifications obtained through continual upgrading of professional or vocational skills. Short workshops on- or off-site are another way to gain 'soft' or 'hard' skills at all levels of the workforce. But the majority of learning takes place every day, informally, incidentally, implicitly, or even tacitly. It is usually unplanned and unorganized, it may be haphazard or serendipitous, and often remains unacknowledged. This vast amount of informal learning is now getting some of the attention it deserves for the role it plays, both as a foundation upon which more formal education can build, and as a relatively unexplored wealth of knowledge in its own right. It is this informal and often incidental learning that forms the focus of this paper.

Background

Research for this study took place in sixteen small and medium enterprises from four industrial sectors in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, where both management and employees were interviewed in depth about their learning and its relation to the innovative products or processes with which they were involved. The criterion for defining 'small' and 'medium' was total workforce per firm of 10 – 100. The four sectors chosen were secondary wood manufacturing, engineering, computer consulting and telecommunications. These last two categories are somewhat nebulous, with indistinct and constantly shifting boundaries, but this does not affect the way they work, or the type of learning occurring within each enterprise.

Learning and innovation

Innovation does not generally result from a sudden flash of inspiration, it is a process of many iterations, much reflection, and feedback both within the firm and from customers and end users. It is the result of constant appraisal and re-appraisal, adding and subtracting bits and pieces until the product is right for the job. However, life never stands still, and the answer to today's problems may very soon be obsolete when facing tomorrow's challenges. Innovation, in both product and process, therefore has to be seen in the light of constant change, with the next generation of a product rapidly replacing the previous one. Those working in innovative enterprises must therefore be on the leading edge, be flexible, and prepared to be lifelong learners within a learning organization.

As in any workplace, personal learning and organizational learning are hard to separate from one another. A firm is its workforce, wherein the knowledge resides, and the loss of an individual is a loss of expertise to the firm as a whole. However, careful documentation of core knowledge can safeguard information for future access, but 'knowing what' is not the same as 'knowing how'. As a rope is made of many short strands, intertwined for strength and continuity, so organizational knowledge is the collection and retention of individual learning threads, woven together over the life of the enterprise, to form the competencies upon which its survival depends. But individuals still retain a wealth of implicit and tacit knowledge that cannot be written down, which has been learned experientially by working with others, or even alone, on a variety of projects. Newcomers to the situation may read the 'blueprints', but may not have the same feel for the work as one who knows the product, and understands the conditions in which it will be required to function. Nonaka (1995) suggests that this type of learning is exchanged through the process of socialization, both at work and beyond.

Visible and Invisible Learning Within the Company

Those working in innovative enterprises recognize the value of learning in all its forms, and create as many opportunities as possible for visible and invisible knowledge to flow in all directions. At the visible level, creation of innovative practices and products requires reflection-in-action (Argyris, 1977), creative and flexible thinking, problem solving skills, and the persistence and patience to work the bugs out of a system before it gets beyond the prototype stage. This frequently means creating 'quick and dirty' ways of doing things, rather than going by the book, which Brown & Duguid(1991) refer to as creating a 'community of practice' and Argyris & Schon (1978) call theory-in-action. However, in high-tech situations there often is no book of precedents to consult, as innovative products develop very rapidly. Consequently creative problem solving skills are an essential part of the workplace 'toolkit' every employee requires.

Small firms often do not have time or money to provide off-site learning opportunities as deadlines have to be met, and workloads are heavy. However, many places hold informal talks or seminars where topics of interest are discussed, or people report on work-related off-site activities. Occasionally there will be time for representatives to give papers at conferences or attend trade shows, where networking and between-session socializing often is more productive than the formal presentations. Surfing the net, or reading trade or professional journals are other sources of individual information which may be shared through in-house discussion.

Internal dynamics in many high-tech companies may seem fluid, and even chaotic to new graduates joining the workforce for the first time, and they need to acquire many invisible coping techniques which are rarely taught in school. Moving from the more controlled order of the lab or classroom into a hectic, real-life situation requires adaptability, flexibility, and careful management of time, all vital survival skills which have to be picked up 'on the run'. New employees from whatever background also have to absorb, and fit in with, the company culture. If the move has been made from a large, hierarchical organization, to the flatter administrative structure favoured by small companies, this may involve more personal autonomy and greater participation in creating the end product. It may also be as simple as observing a totally different dress code, moving from formal to casual, and feeling comfortable in very different surroundings. But for everyone, the importance of self-directed lifelong learning is paramount.

Most learning in small and medium enterprises occurs on the job, working in project teams, or participating in day to day life within the organization. In many high-tech companies, project teams are very flexible, dissolving at the end of one job and re-forming differently for the next, depending on the expertise required. In some cases one individual may be working on two teams at once, and be pulled off both from time to time for specific 'firefighting' skills if an emergency arises. In other workplaces, such as small secondary wood manufacturers, the whole workforce is one team, where specific jobs might be rotated in order to increase individual abilities. This still creates overall flexibility within the system, but there is not the same fluidity as would be found in the computer consulting, engineering or telecommunications sectors. However, with increasing computerization of machinery, and ever-changing skill requirements, the necessity for constant learning is equally important in every type of workplace.

Invisible learning in the workplace is especially difficult to bring to the surface and make visible, simply because such processes are unnoticed. Learning takes place through all the senses. Knowing how a finished product should look, feel, smell, taste, or that it is making the right kind of noise, is often as important as knowing how to put it together correctly. Very often 'gut feeling' plays a large part in knowing whether something is right or not. Often such intangibles cannot be put into words, but can be passed on from one person to another through sharing experiences, working together, or through some form of apprenticeship.

Because tacit and implicit knowledge is seen to have a very important role to play in the creation of innovative products and processes, many companies like to work closely with end-users or customers in order to understand what they need, and how they will be using a product. One high-tech firm making innovative navigation aids for commercial shipping tries to send their engineers out to ride boats from time to time, to understand what a mariner really wants, rather than what an engineer thinks a mariner wants. Elegant keyboards demanding manual dexterity and typing skills that work well on land may be difficult to use on a ship pitching and tossing in high seas, whereas a trackball and a few simple keystrokes can be managed by even the most computer-illiterate mariner coping with a crisis. This same company also installs prototypes in its own boat, then takes employees out for a day on board. Everyone is encouraged to try all the gizmos and gadgets in the hope that someone who knows absolutely nothing about how to operate the system will uncover hidden bugs, which a more knowledgeable user would never discover through routine testing. This is not only a fun day for most people, such prototype field trials provide valuable experience from which much can be learned that would be hard to re-create in a laboratory. In this way engineers can not only find out what might go wrong and correct it, they can reflect on why it went wrong in a double loop learning process (Argyris, 1977), and improve the next iteration of the product accordingly.

Managerial Learning

It is not only upon non-administrative employees that innovation depends. Often those who manage small and medium enterprises started out on their own as entrepreneurs because they have a skill upon which they wish to build. Very quickly they discover the need to hire helpers, both in administration and in the skill itself, and in order to survive, the product must be marketed. Without adequate administration or marketing, small firms soon get mired in problems and go out of business.

Managers, especially those who own their company, find themselves from necessity moving further away from the skills they enjoy using, into organizational and administrative matters. They neither have, nor require, an MBA, but they, like their employees, are learning on the job through the school of hard knocks. Managers have to be a jacks of all trades, and masters of all, if their company is to survive and be successful. At the same time it is very hard to learn from others because there are few administrators in the same office to consult, and they may all be equally new to such positions. There are few courses for non-MBA managerial skills, and even if there were more, time and money for attending such programmes are often unavailable. Employees, especially in software engineering, can change jobs fairly frequently in order to access further on-the-job learning, so that knowledge is shared throughout the community, but managers do not have that same freedom, and need to acquire their knowledge by other means. Thus, it appears that learning appropriate managerial skills is somewhat more problematic than gaining trade or professional abilities, but without good management, innovative small firms cannot survive.

Visible external knowledge

The networks with which small and medium enterprises surround themselves are as much horizontal as they are vertical, and some see them as spherical, interlocking, and complex, rather than two-dimensional representations of dependencies or peer relationships. These networks are vibrant fora for the exchange of knowledge, information, products, skills, and even personnel. Some of the larger enterprises that have developed sophisticated internal structures may allocate information gathering capabilities to certain administrators who scan the surroundings, make outside contacts, and generally select and disseminate knowledge which is thought to be useful. In other cases, usually the smaller firms, everyone keeps their eyes and ears open, and shares whatever they think might be of interest to others. This may bring some surprising tidbits into the knowledge base, as people have their own individual networks and outside interests which may provide a vital piece of information that had seemed apparently trivial at the time. In browsing the web, talking to a friend, or walking down the street something may have been noticed which triggers thought, reflection, or is by chance immediately relevant and useful.

Constant communication with members of one's network provides feedback on product acceptance, customer needs, marketing, competitors' activities, knowledge and skill resources, and managerial networks share administrative knowledge and information. Because many networks are somewhat specialized in nature, where industrial 'birds of a feather' flock together, a gathering of CEOs is fruitful ground for finding other administrative personnel who are known to the group either through work, university, business or professional contacts. Personal recommendation, combined with a little gentle headhunting through the grapevine, is often a preferred way for hiring new senior or middle management, rather than by advertising on the open market. This practice is fairly important to small firms in particular, for although academic, professional and technical qualifications are essential, equally important is the matter of fit. In small firms there is little room for individuals who do not share the same ideals, philosophies, values and attitudes, and one manager went so far as to say that if Einstein himself applied to that company for a job he would not get hired, he wouldn't fit! The matter of fit is equally important for both employees and managers, as the well-being of small firms depends greatly on co-operation and reasonably friction-free internal dynamics.

Networks are also a way of sharing knowledge which allows for the development of expertise. Each firm within a such a network of specialization will act as a resource for other members, providing complementary skills as needed, so they fit together like jigsaw puzzle pieces. Research & Development firms may liaise with manufacturers and marketing companies, or end users who field test prototype products. Service companies may provide outlets for high-tech devices which are not sold directly to end users, but are embedded into the product which eventually goes to market. There are many examples of such symbiotic interdependencies occurring, where each member of the network may add to, and in turn benefit from, a pooling of available skills and resources. In these circumstances power relationships are equal, regardless of company size, and knowledge of many kinds flows back and forth continually. This leads to the interesting observation that firms large and small have learned that success in today's changing economy more often depends on co-operation, not competition, and this, in turn, has quietly revolutionized the way business is being conducted today.

Another valuable form of knowledge and learning comes through co-op students. Many small and medium enterprises seek out these students for internships for many reasons, not least of which is the fact that they bring with them the latest thinking and research at their universities. There is also ongoing contact with university departments and faculty through the students themselves, and while making arrangements for the provision of co-op experience in the workplace. Like the hiring of personnel through the CEO network where recommendation plays a large part in the process, co-op semesters can provide what is seen by the employer as an extended interview. In a two-way flow of information, those working with co-op students can decide how well an individual will fit into the firm, and over a period of two or three months can also discover how that person works under stress or participates socially, which an interview alone is unable to ascertain. At the same time, students can use the opportunity to create a niche into which they will be welcomed back upon graduation if they so wish, benefiting both the company and the individual concerned.

Implications for research in Adult Education

While formal and non-formal learning opportunities for obtaining workplace skills are well established, there has been little research on the informal flow of information and knowledge within the workplace, and within the wider network surrounding firms of all sizes. Attention has been paid to individual aspects of the firm environment, such as networks, culture, or markets, and to the conditions creating job satisfaction, motivation and innovation from an organizational viewpoint. Educationally, these elements have not been linked in a map charting the flow of knowledge through the various segments to ascertain conditions facilitating innovation and creativity, factors encouraging or inhibiting learning in the workplace, or to analyse what type of learning takes place. Not every form of learning in the workplace is for the good of the company. Some implications of management action can lead to misinterpretation by employees, who then react accordingly. Equally, employees can send the wrong message to management, resulting in unfortunate remedies being applied.

The workplace must not only be viewed holistically from within, it must also be seen as a small part of a larger world beyond, and all aspects of learning, from the obvious to the unobserved, must be investigated and charted in order to make a useful contribution to the present knowledge base. Informal and incidental learning at work often just happens as a result of getting the job done. If more could be discovered about how, where, when and why it happens it might be possible to create appropriate learning opportunities, rather than letting them occur haphazardly, serendipitously, or sometimes even slipping by unnoticed.

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Teaching Across Borders: A Collaborative Inter-Racial "Border" Pedagogy In Adult Multicultural Education Classes

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Abstract: This qualitative action research study examined how power dynamics were manifested between and among instructors and students in two graduate level classes team-taught by a black and a white female co-instructors where diversity and equity issues in education was the primary course content. The study also attempts to identify adult education practices that lead to growth and social change among participants in such classes that are at times both uncomfortable and controversial.

The role of adult and higher education in responding to the educational needs of a multicultural society is being discussed in many adult education circles. In discussing these issues, many recent authors are influenced by a variety of theoretical orientations with social change as its goal, including critical theory and pedagogy (Brookfield, 1995; Giroux, 1993; Shor, 1996; Welton, 1995), feminist theory and pedagogy (Hart, 1992; hooks, 1994; Tisdell, 1993,1995), the wider multicultural education literature (Banks, 1993; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995; Ross-Gordon, 1994), Africentric perspectives on education (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1996; Hayes & Colin, 1994; Sheared, 1994), and postmodern theories about ways of teaching across borders of race, gender, class, culture, and sexual orientation. While there is more and more discussion of these "border pedagogies" that deal with how to teach in ways that challenge power relations based on such factors, most of these discussions are conceptual or theoretical. Implicit in these discussions is the recognition that to teach in such ways is at times controversial and uncomfortable, particularly in classes where the examination of diversity and equity issues is the primary course content. But there is a lack of research based literature that actually examines what these border pedagogies look like in practice, and how their use affects classroom dynamics, particularly in classes made up of adult students where the examination of such issues are the central course content. Thus, the primary purpose of this study was to examine the way power dynamics based on race, gender, class, sexual orientation were manifested between and among instructors and students in two graduate level classes where diversity and equity issues in education was the primary course content. In conducting the study, we also attempted to identify adult education practices that seemed to lead to growth and social change among participants in such classes that are at times both uncomfortable and controversial.

METHODOLOGY

This was a qualitative action research study of two different classes of adult students in a graduate level course entitled "Diversity and Equity in Education." One class was taught in the summer of 1996, one in the fall of 1996. Both classes were co-taught by the same African American (Clarice Perry) and White female (Libby Tisdell) co-instructors, who are the co-authors of this paper. There were 15 students (3 men, 12 women) in the summers class, including 5 students (3 women, 2 men) of color (3 identified as multiracial). There were 12 students (4 men , 8 women) in the Fall class, including 3 students of color (1 man, 2 women), and one white, hearing impaired male student. All of the fall classes were signed, and two interpreters alternated in signing. One woman and one man in the Fall class openly acknowledged being lesbian or bisexual.

This study was informed by a postmodern feminist and Africentric feminist action research theoretical framework. A basic underlying belief of these feminisms in regard to research and education is that the positionality (race, gender, class, sexual orientation) of researchers, teachers, and students affects how one constructs knowledge (both affectively and cognitively), how one views knowledge, and how one determines whether types of knowledge claims are valid or not. In keeping with this theoretical framework, we taught the class together, specifically because we represented different positionalities, particularly different racial and sexual orientation groups, which would broaden students' examination of diversity and equity issues and would broaden their own and our own possibilities for constructing knowledge. Several aspects of our positionality were discussed with the students in the sharing or our own cultural stories the first day of class.

As an action research project, the study attempted to document our own (as instructors) and students' practice and ways of constructing knowledge as the class was going on, and focused on ways of improving practice while making use of these border pedagogies (critical and feminist) in teaching across boundaries of race, gender, class, and sexual orientation. We incorporated both affective and cognitive activities, and the curriculum was partly pre-designed and partly negotiated with students. As an action research project and as instructor-researchers, we made use of Carr and Kemmis's (1986) four pronged approach to action research (planning, acting, observing, and reflecting), and each class session was planned in light of the data that were collected at the prior session. Data collection methods included daily journals kept by each of us as instructors, daily open-ended questionnaires filled out by students at the end of each class session, student papers (including a portion of their final paper where they discussed classroom dynamics in this class), and informal conversations with several of the students after the courses were over. Data were analyzed according to the constant comparative method.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

There are three major interrelated categories of findings of the study relative to classroom dynamics, that are also related to the fact that the course content and the readings for the class focus directly on an analysis of structural systems of privilege and oppression. The curriculum foregrounds the voices of those who have been historically and culturally marginalized in education through traditional curricula and pedagogical processes. The pedagogy of the class included experiential and affective activities, encouraged student participation, and in the last quarter of the class, student collaborative groups did a final group presentation based on a book of their small group's choosing. While these categories of findings will be discussed separately below for purposes of organization, it is important to bear in mind the interrelationship of these categories, and their relationship to the course content, and the "border pedagogies" (critical and feminist pedagogy) that emphasized both cognitive and affective forms of knowledge.

Foregrounding and Recognizing the Voices and Experience of the More Traditionally Marginalized Students

In large group discussions the voices of the more traditionally marginalized students, especially the students of color and the hearing impaired male student, tended to be in the foreground. In general, all of the participants (both the white students and the students of color) wanted to understand what it meant to be African American, Native American, multiracial, Creole, or to be hearing impaired. These aspects of these more traditionally marginalized students' experiences were foregrounded both in the curriculum and in who participants seemed to allow to have a good bit of "air time" in the class. In both of these classes, these traditionally more marginalized students either tended to talk a lot and/or most of their contributions were treated with genuine interest. There were some times, however, when some remarks by the more verbose students of color, particularly the more confrontational remarks, were more tolerated than appreciated. But in general, the students of color and the hearing impaired student were seen as being very articulate in both classes. In the fall class, when this point was raised, Sam, the hearing impaired student, suggested that graduate level students who have been traditionally marginalized in the curriculum throughout their schooling experiences are articulate because they have had to be in order to survive and make it in the educational system. Melinda, a white woman, in addressing this point in her final paper wrote: *"...Sam's point, about those who are marginalized having to learn to be effective communicators, I did see evidence of this during the class.... It did appear as though the white members of the class had more trouble communicating. Is it due to not having to or not really want to? Do we (I include myself) not want to let others know us because we don't have to? Is that part of our privilege?"* These are important and insighful questions.

All the males in both of the classes were also quite vocal, both the white males and the males of color. There were actually only three non-disabled white males in the study as a whole, all of whom were quite vocal. Two seemed to be viewed (in their verbal contributions) as advocates for those who have been traditionally marginalized, and thus their contributions also appeared to be appreciated by the class as a whole. The third white male, who was in the fall class, tended to talk a lot and defend the status quo. While students and instructors allowed him a lot of "air time", his comments were more tolerated rather than appreciated by the group, and he tended to be confronted in gentle and subtle ways. A verbose white woman, on the other hand, in the summer class was eventually confronted by another student in a very direct way.

By contrast to the students of color and the males, the voices of white women and lesbian students tended to be in the background. The white women students as a group (with one exception) were quite quiet, and tended not to claim much "air time" in the large group. Many of them in the summer class actually felt silenced and discounted by other students in the class for questioning their silence. One white woman student wrote in her final paper: *"...the voices that were not heard were perhaps those of white women. Yet each of the white women in the class has achieved in the work place and has stood up for injustice... I think it was a matter of weariness. A greater understanding of their contributions rather than attacks for keeping silence would have been more profitable."* In speaking about silence and voice in her final paper, another white women from the summer class wrote *"white women are socialized to be quiet and not express opinions, it can be dangerous to speak out, especially if you're not expected to."* In spite of the fact that the voices of students of color were more in the foreground, gender issues, were clearly an important underlying issue for the summer class. Two (out of three) of the males in the summer class also discussed this in their final papers. Other relatively silent voices were those of the lesbian students, in spite of the fact that Libby made several references to her own sexual orientation. The identity of one of the lesbian students was briefly referred to once in the large group; another never referred to her sexual identity in the large group but did so in her paper. Whether due to nervousness, apathy, or total acceptance, sexual orientation wasn't an issue that either group dealt with very much, although in the summer class, a couple of "straight" students indicated in their writing that they wanted to discuss this more, and one of the women of color wondered in her final paper if the gay and lesbian students felt silenced. In the fall class, the hearing impaired student referred a few times to his bisexual sexual orientation, and in referring to his experience in the fall class wrote: *"I never felt marginalized because of my sexuality. It seemed to be not a factor."*

Dealing With or Avoiding Conflict:
An Underlying Fear of Being Viewed as an Oppressor

Conflict is inevitable in classes where issues of privilege and oppression are a central part of course content. While there was some conflict in both classes, the summer class was more conflictual than the fall class. In both classes at times conflict was dealt with directly by students and instructors, and at times it was avoided. A dynamic that seemed to be underlying some of the discussion was a hesitancy or fear of both students and at least one of the instructors (Libby) of being viewed as an oppressor (or silencer of marginalized voices). This appeared to be manifested in several ways. First, it was very directly manifested by Libby the first day of the summer class and documented in her journal. One African American woman who was a guest of one of the students at one point was dominating the discussion. Libby wrote in her journal: *"I was trying to decipher how to deal with her when she kept interrupting... but then Clarice intervened and I was very glad, because I didn't want to be a white woman silencing an African American woman...."*

Second, this "fear of being viewed as an oppressor" was manifested in other ways. As instructors, we tried to facilitate the discussions to try to give all students an opportunity to come to voice. However, when a dominant voice was to be confronted about their tendency to monopolize the discussion, it was actually carried out (probably unconsciously) by a person in the class most like them by the categories of analysis of the class (gender, race, class). For example, in the summer class, an extremely verbose white Jewish woman was confronted by another white Jewish woman, and an African American woman student by Clarice, the African American female instructor. Other examples would be the fact that in the Fall class, one white male openly disagreed with the white male who tended to defend the status quo on a number of occasions. Third, at no time in the class in the large group did any white student initiate any kind of disagreement or confrontation with a student of color. There was a couple of times where a white student and a student of color were in conflict, but the stated disagreement that resulted in some conflictual interchange was initiated by the student of color, and not the white student. This leads us to wonder if the more privileged students, particularly the students that have white privilege fear being viewed as "an oppressor". By contrast, there were number of occasions where students of color would disagree with and/or confront each other. An African American woman confronted the multiracial male student who identified as "Creole" about some of his attitudes and remarks about African American women. Students of color would disagree with and challenge white students, and white students would overtly disagree with and/or occasionally challenge each other. In the summer class, the white women were challenged or disagreed with on several occasions, but on only one occasion did a white woman disagree with another white women. In referring to the fact that the verbose white Jewish woman was confronted by another white student, one woman wrote in her final paper: *"I think conflict was primarily managed by the group through subconsciously choosing a woman in the class as the scapegoat. Whether realizing it or not, much of the anger the class was experiencing was expressed onto this one person."* While one of the African American woman in the summer class was extremely vocal and used a lot of "air time", no one ever openly confronted her about this, perhaps out of fear of being seen as an oppressor.

Finally, this potential fear of being viewed as an oppressor may have been manifested in the relative silence of some students, While all of us have experience of both oppression and privilege around some category that informs our identity, the students of color and the hearing impaired student more openly discussed their experience in the large group. The fact that the white women and the gay and lesbian students discussed this only in small groups or their papers, may also be indicative of a propensity to put a hierarchy on the experience of oppression, or the fear that this would not be taken seriously by others in the learning environment.

Maintaining or Deferring to Those with More Power & Privilege

In spite of the fact that the voices of students of color were generally relatively unchallenged in discussions, there were nevertheless some ways that those with more systemic power and privilege by virtue of race, class, gender, position, physical ability, were deferred to and/or their power and privilege was maintained. This was manifested in a couple of ways.

First, students tended to be somewhat more deferential to Libby (as the white instructor) who appeared to be viewed as the intellectual content expert, while Clarice (as the African American instructor) appeared to be viewed as the practice-based and experiential expert. Students directed questions related to course requirements and assignments more often to Libby than to Clarice. Also, many of the students in their final paper also referred to "you", which clearly by the context and statement was often a reference primarily to Libby, and secondarily to Clarice. However, nearly all students from both classes, but especially the students of color, noted the significance of having a person of color as an instructor for a higher education class. Most of the students had never experienced being taught by an African American woman. A male student of color from the summer class discussed in an interview the fact that he assumed on the first day of class that Clarice's position (as a woman of color) was "instructional aide." He discussed that he was ashamed that he found himself surprised at how competent and capable Clarice was as an instructor and facilitator. In their final papers or final course evaluations, particularly from the fall class, many indicated they wanted to hear more from Clarice. One white male student wrote in reaction to the question regarding future recommendations: *"Clarice should talk more. Not Libby less."* Perhaps he was trying to be polite in his "not Libby less" remark.

While Clarice was recognized as a full teaching partner, the fact that students from both classes were more deferential to Libby could have been for several reasons that are both related to aspects of our positionality as well as our behavior in the classroom. Libby is white, has a doctoral degree, and is a full-time core faculty member in the department. Clarice is African American, has her M.A. from Antioch, is an adjunct faculty member, and is working towards her PhD. In society, Libby has white privilege as well as higher educational status. As a full-time core faculty member and advisor to several students in the classes, she also has greater institutional power than Clarice does. This greater institutional power may account in part for why the students were more deferential to Libby. One male student of color in the summer class noted this and he wrote *"...I caught myself continually directing my questions to Libby on a regular basis. I do not think it was her color of skin or ethnic background... I believe that I have been conditioned by society to respect people a little bit more who hold important titles..."*.

Clearly, these institutional factors as well as the oppressed an privilege aspects of each of our identities, had an effect both on how we behaved and on how we were viewed by the students. But Libby does have a tendency to dominate the teaching space, particularly around issues related to clarifying cognitive or intellectual points in the readings. This propensity was particularly true in the Fall class, perhaps due to the fact that as instructors, we had just taught the class the prior summer, and didn't spend as much time preparing some of the details of the Fall class, so Libby had a tendency to "take over" at times. Janice, a white female student wrote about this in her final paper: *"...[O]ne instructor seemed to clearly hold more power, enforced the time structure of the class session and was readily able to voice her opinions/reactions during discussions. The other instructor did not seem to control so much of the structure and often appeared to be speaking only when addressed specifically. This concerned me but I was unsure if my intuitions were based on an evidencing of our society's power structure in this setting..., or if this was merely the differences in preferred teaching techniques of each particular instructor."* We suspect that this is not one or the other, but perhaps both. Libby is also less comfortable than Clarice in dealing with conflict, and Clarice does a better job than Libby about coming up with and facilitating experiential activities in the class. This may be why Libby appeared to be seen as the intellectual expert and Clarice as the practice based experiential expert.

Second, the systems of power were also maintained was in the fact that male students tended either not to be confronted, or to be more gently challenged than the women students, especially the white women. With only one exception, the male students were seen as being on the side of those who have been marginalized, so in spite of the fact that they were quite vocal, their comments were valued. The male students also tended to verbally respond before the women in the class, when a question was thrown out by the instructors. This was especially true in the Fall class. The fact that power based on gender may have been maintained in some ways was generally not analyzed in the large group, though we understand that this was discussed by some of the women in small groups or in informal settings. To some degree, some male students were aware of this. As mentioned above, one multiracial male was confronted by one of the African American woman. In discussing this in his final paper he wrote: *"when people did finally give me strong feedback, it came only after Bob [another male student] and I said we wanted to hear it. I felt like a man giving permission to the women in the room to speak their mind."*

Third, some of the forms of deference and maintenance of the status quo were manifested in experiential activities in the class. However, group members were more open to critiquing the systems of power and privilege that were reflected in their behavior in the experiential activities. This was either because some of these activities were role plays, or because the level of emotional vulnerability and group safety (in the Fall class) was high enough to allow for critique. One of the ways this was manifested in the Fall class was in an activity around the theme of engaged pedagogy based on bell hooks (1994) work, which was facilitated by one of the student collaborative book groups during the final session. The activity centered on participants' discussion of their experience in the course. After going around the circle once, the student facilitaror noted that all the people of color had spoken (including Clarice), the hearing impaired male spoke, and the 3 white students (all women) that spoke cried. She suggested that those that had spoken were more willing to be vulnerable, and suggested that in classes like these, it is always the students who have been traditionally marginalized that are more vulnerable, and that the white students that spoke and cried were more willing to share in their vulnerability. Clearly her observation indicated that those who remain silent at such times, may be doing so to maintain privilege. This is a point worth thinking about.

Lastly, a way that participants defer or maintain systems of power or privilege is in their reliance on individual or psychological analytic tendencies. A large part of the class focused on discussion of social structural systems (race, gender, etc.) and institutionalized forms of oppression and privilege. But in their final synthesis paper most of the students who benefited by more social systems of privilege resorted to almost a humanistic psychological analysis of difference and "otherness" as individual as opposed to partly socially constructed through social structural systems of oppression and privilege. Students who experienced more systems of oppression tended to focus more on social structures in their analysis.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In light of the findings discussed here, along with additional insights based on our experience teaching the class, we recommend the following practices:

(1) The inclusion of practice-based and experiential activities (both in-class and outside assignments) that require an analysis of concepts in relationship to both one's own identity as a person of a particular race, gender, sexual orientation, as well as analysis of social and educational institutions. Some of these practices include writing one's own cultural story, role plays, interviews with educators and observations of learning activities about multicultural issues, analysis of gender and race issues in movies or the media, etc.

(2) Guidelines for class discussion, especially clear discussion of both the role of instructors and of students in facilitating class discussion

(3) An honest acknowledgment of tension in the classroom by the instructors.

(4) Closing activities for each class session that take into account affective, emotional, and spiritual dimensions that leave participants with hope even though we will always be unfinished in dealing with these issues.

(5) Requiring collaborative small groups of students to create and facilitate an experiential activity

While this study is limited to an examination of these issues in two adult multicultural education classes, it offers some insight about what "border pedagogy" looks like and therefore makes a valuable contribution to the adult multicultural literature.

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Beyond Disciplinary Consumption in Program Planning Courses: Dilemmas in Teaching With and About Power

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Abstract: Power matters in teaching program planning because such courses are not just mere sites of instruction but are also mechanisms for constructing power relations. In the paper we raise questions about dilemmas and responsibilities faced by faculty and students once issues around power are made transparent in the curriculum itself.

Power, a regular reality in our lived experience, is daily manifested in our classroom work as teachers of curriculum and program planning. In the new social analysis--poststructuralism in linguistics, new cultural history, critical language studies, discourse analysis, new historicism in literary theory--the existence, exercise, and effects of power are of central concern with many intellectual avenues and methodological byways leading to Foucault (Gore, 1993; Hicks, 1995; Hunt, 1989; Luke, 1995). Foucault's move was to ask how power manifests itself in structures of meaning and how those structures "position" humans in relation to each other (Foucault, 1984; Luke, 1995). His work shows that discursive formations--systems of thought--represent dominant sets of understandings of how the world works and people's relations to each other in it, which, as social participants, we come to accept as normal in a way that Gramscii would call common sense. Power thus emanates from structures of knowledge and procedures ("technologies of power") to define through the workings of disciplines and social practices (e.g., medicine, psychiatry, criminology, education) others as subjects--subjects not in a Cartesian, Lockean, Maslowian manner, able to self-actualize through rational will. But subjects in the experimental sense of being objects, objects as recipients of the manipulations and effects of "knowledge-power regimes." With these normalized power relations as the central reality of modern life, the new social analyses focus on revealing relations of domination and subject positions by asking how discourse is involved in the construction of knowledge, power, and identity (Luke, 1995; O'Brien, 1989).

What do questions of knowledge, power, and identity have to do with teaching curriculum and program planning? Graduate and undergraduate courses about curriculum and program planning are not just mere sites of instruction but are also mechanisms for the construction of discipline subjectivities and power relations. They are political and cultural sites that represent a struggle for meaning and power (Gore, 1993; hooks, 1994; Mohanty, 1994; Pinar, 1995). Thus the very same questions we ask about scholarship and practice in curriculum and program planning can be raised in relation to our own teaching practices: "the theorization and politicization of experience is imperative if pedagogical practices are to focus on more than the mere management, systematization, and consumption of disciplinary knowledge" (Mohanty, 1994, p. 151). As Gore (1993, p. 5) argues, we must come to terms with the tensions between "the pedagogy argued for and the pedagogy of the argument," between what we teach versus what we practice. Therefore, the purpose of the paper is to raise questions about dilemmas and responsibilities faced by faculty and students once issues around power and interests are made transparent in the curriculum itself. We organize the paper in three sections: our analysis of why teaching curriculum and program planning matters in constructing relations of power, what our responsibilities are in teaching once those relations of power are made transparent, and questions we have about dilemmas we face in being responsible teachers of curriculum and program planning. From this analysis, we claim that our responsibility as faculty is to provide pedagogical space to deal with power and politics and to locate ourselves in these on-going struggles, if we are to take the "politics of everyday life seriously" (Mohanty, 1994, p. 162) in our own teaching.

Discipline Consumption: Creating Power Through Knowledge

Procedural models dominate the literature (Sork & Buskey, 1986; Wilson & Cervero, in press) in courses on adult education program planning and the Tyler Rationale is still surfeit in the general

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curriculum literature. Technical rational planning and curriculum models certainly serve a *psychological* function, for they appear to provide certainty in the face of social and organizational conflict. We claim that both faculty and students collude in the illusion that procedural models of curriculum and planning offer the possibility of bringing order and control to the world. Yet any planner knows that adult education is planned in a world of differential privileges and power based on many social markers including gender, race, class, and organizational position. Thus silence in these theories about power and privilege serves the *political* function of maintaining social privileges and masking educators' responsibilities for creating more democratic social practices.

Pinar and Bowers (1992) trumpeted the demise of procedural innocence in curriculum and program planning theory (echoing Schwab's prescient 1969 call) by noting that the critical movement in curriculum theory over the past couple of decades has erased its "apolitical blindspot." But a colleague of ours recently remarked: "If it's a choice between a student taking a planning course and a course on social/political/economic critique, then I say forget the planning course." Her concern is that curriculum and planning theories have little to do with the real world of scarce resources, contentious professional relations, and public and governmental demands for educational accountability. Our response is that as long as we continue to teach planning as technical rationality, we will continue to produce curriculum planners who reproduce the existing social and political arrangements. Until we realize that we are using the distribution of disciplinary knowledge to create subjectivities (Foucault, 1984; Luke, 1995), to create relations of domination through the power of knowledge, then our colleague is right--we cannot politicize the practice of education nor our teaching of curriculum and program planning.

To get beyond the consumption of disciplinary knowledge (Mohanty, 1994), to make transparent the power relations of the curriculum itself, to critique the unequal distribution of symbolic and material resources that are produced by the teaching of curriculum and program planning, we have to ask why the "planning course curriculum" matters. It matters because the curriculum itself and its construction in the classroom fundamentally help to produce and reproduce the pattern of power relations in society. The curriculum does this not through overt coercion but through the force of disciplinary knowledge that further empowers those who have it and disempowers those who do not (Foucault, 1984; Mohanty, 1994). This leads us to claim that graduate courses about program and curriculum planning are not mere sites of instruction. They are also political and cultural sites that represent a struggle for meaning and power (Freire, 1970; hooks, 1994; & Mohanty, 1994). As Mohanty says, the classroom of curriculum and program planning is one place where "power and politics operates out of the lived culture of individuals and groups situated in asymmetrical social and political positions" (1994, p. 147).

Thus we ask what happens when we "make the axes of power transparent in the context of academic, disciplinary, and institutional structures as well as interpersonal relationships. It is about taking the politics of everyday life seriously" (Mohanty, p. 162). This suggests a central problem that curriculum and planning courses routinely do not address: whose interests and which power relations do these courses privilege? Our answer is that the courses themselves, just like the disciplinary knowledge itself, reproduce, either strengthening or weakening, the pattern of power relations and interests in society. We do this by "teaching" students to represent some interests to the exclusion of others. For example, every planning model in adult education either explicitly or implicitly tells adult educators whose interests they should be representing. Boone (1985) is explicit about the planner's allegiance to the organization, Knowles (1980) privileges the "generic" adult learner, Freire (1970) the "oppressed." By asking whose interests are privileged in curriculum and planning courses, we can begin to critique the structure of meaning that portrays planning in neutral technical terms and positions the educator as "expert" to define the needs of learners. As Mohanty poignantly remarks, "the theorization and politicization of experience is imperative if pedagogical practices are to focus on more than the mere management, systematization, and consumption of disciplinary knowledge" (1994, p. 151).

Teaching curriculum planning matters because through its teaching we either reproduce dominant political and social relations of power or we open up opportunities for individual and systematic redistribution of material and symbolic resources and power. By seeing whose interests those relations of knowledge, power, and identity serve, we can create a sense of agency by "denaturalizing" their taken-for-granted dominance (Luke, 1995). So, by asking which interests and power relations curriculum planning courses privilege, we are critiquing our role as knowledge constructors and power brokers in maintaining dominant relations. Once we've "denaturalized" that reproductive function, then we must deal with the very real choices of how we manage the maintenance or restructuring of those power relations. These are real dilemmas in political and ethical terms because they force us to make real choices about how we manage the negotiation of power relations in the classroom and how the students reproduce those power relations in their practice. Thus we seek to move beyond simply teaching curriculum theory as the transfer and consumption of disciplinary knowledge and skill to ask which curriculum practices are we modeling and, most importantly, how they can be critiqued and changed.

Beyond Consumption: Becoming Responsible

Given a planning landscape of people, interests, and power relations (Cervero & Wilson, 1994), we can begin to ask what our responsibilities are as teachers in constructing/reconstructing the power relations and interests of people in our classes. As we have just claimed, we must recognize and deal with the fact that we directly contribute to creating the unequal distribution of power both in "our" classrooms and when "our" students recreate these relations in their planning practice. Such a claim might well upset curriculum and planning professors because it directly undermines the structure of their historical/institutional authority and power in creating and distributing disciplinary knowledge. Many faculty consider themselves "experts" because of their access to and command of theory, research, and other forms of disciplinary knowledge and expertise. Indeed, the purpose of graduate education is to distribute intellectual, material, and symbolic resources to an elite few who will use that knowledge to maintain professional relations of power (Larson, 1979). Thus, when we open up this question of whose interests we are privileging, the first response must be our own as university professors. Indeed, our claim simply names the fact that we have power and privilege and then asks to what ends will we use it.

Given this claim we argue that our responsibility as faculty is to provide pedagogical space to deal with power and politics, to locate ourselves in these ongoing struggles, not only in the larger efforts of adult education but also in the disciplinary, pedagogical, and institutional locations of our own universities and courses. We must see our efforts not just as part of the larger socio-historical theoretical struggles but also as practical strategies in our everyday classroom work. Planning courses like all adult education are operating on two levels: What we teach (and don't teach) about planning and what our students see us practicing (and not practicing) about planning. Cochran-Smith (1995, p. 563) describes classroom practice this way:

> I have come to see that the center of our curriculum and of my own teaching is indeed White in terms of racial perspective . . . . I believe that this image of the center, revealed in the informal discourse of the program and underlying the formal discourse, may be more powerful than my exhortations to the contrary and more powerful than the images specified in the formal discourse.

As Gore (1993) so poignantly puts it, there's a tension between the pedagogy argued for and the pedagogy of the argument. For example, apropos both Gore and Cochran-Smith, we in adult education routinely promote a formal discourse of learner-centered program planning in a classroom milieu in which we, as professors, reserve almost all of the power to determine student needs, the curriculum, and the daily practices of the course itself.

When Cochran-Smith (1995) asks "Is professional education the real word," she speaks directly to the notion of correspondence between the planning class itself and the planning theories and practices covered in the course. While many might respond to her question with a "no" because of the putative and long standing theory-practice gap, we would answer "yes" because the power relations built on cultural, racial, class, and gender differences as well as organizational position in all other phases of life are clearly reproduced in professional education: "Reflexivity about my own efforts suggests that teacher educators and their pre-service programs may convey contradictory messages about the responsibilities of teachers who work with students who are both like them and not like them in race, culture, and ethnicity" (Cochran-Smith, 1995, p. 542). Tisdell (1993) convincingly demonstrates that interlocking systems of power based on gender, race, class, and age are reproduced in the higher education classroom by teachers' direct structuring of the activities, interactions, and outcomes of those classes. Those with greater amounts of socially-distributed power--professors, white males--have more ability to control the conditions and results of the class than those lacking such social markers. That being said, Cochran-Smith, Gore, and Tisdell all worry about the complexity of opening up space to talk about power and interests in the classroom. As Cochran-Smith warns, however, "Unless we unflinchingly interrogate the explicit and implicit images in our pre-service pedagogy and then work to alter our own teaching and programs, it is unlikely that we can help our students do the same" (1995, p. 368). Tisdell gets right to the point: "It is difficult to change what is enmeshed in one's socialization; but it is impossible to change what remains unconscious" (1993, p. 224). Thus our responsibility is to interrogate, with the participants, the power and interest relations in and consequences of the planning course itself.

Dilemmas of Responsibility in Teaching Curriculum and Program Planning

To undermine the conventional and typically unstated pedagogical "responsibility" of transferring disciplinary knowledge, we must critique our role as educators in relation to how we use these knowledge-power regimes to reproduce the dominant relations in society. If we have successfully politicized our pedagogical roles by asking whose interests we represent and to whom we should be responsible, the following dilemmas become politicized as well. In terms of selecting content and specifying interactions through our teaching and learning practices, these are real dilemmas now because they force us to make choices about how we manage the negotiation of power relations both in the classroom and how the students reproduce those power relations in their work. So once we no longer teach curriculum and program planning as just technical skill in performing instrumental tasks, what dilemmas do we, as white males in positions of power, face and what are our responsibilities in responding to them? That broad question gives rise to three categories of dilemma: dilemmas in creating pedagogical space to reveal and critique power and its use in the classroom, dilemmas about how we as faculty interrogate our own teaching practices, and dilemmas of faculty in terms of which constituencies they represent in the classroom.

Dilemmas in creating pedagogical space. Bluntly put, how do we get people to see structural privilege based on gender, race, and class acted out in the classroom? Typically such structured power relations are not discussed directly in terms of how such social factors influence planning or the planning classroom itself. Many times such analysis might be relevant, but faculty and students often conspire to silence these issues. So, one dilemma we face is whether to surface issues of power and what to do with them if we choose to do so. For example, experienced planners typically see multiple dimensions of power relations in planning, such as organizational or personal authority (types of power). But those with more structural power (a socially distributed capacity to act) tend not to see their power, either conspiring to silence or seeking to deny it, while those with less tend to see structural relations very clearly. Further, the dilemma of creating space to raise issues of power is that our class participants often see themselves as having to choose between following the power structure or losing their jobs. There is also the related dilemma of accommodation and co-optation: how far can we, should we push people to see the world this way (the problem of critical theory)? What are the practical and ethical dilemmas in structuring classroom practice around hooks' (1994) "engaged pedagogy" model?

We need to develop strategies that show how we can practically struggle with the actual use of power. Another dilemma emerges, though. If we choose to deal directly with issues of power in the classroom, what responsibility do we as faculty have to insure a "safe" classroom? As we noted earlier, classical models focusing on instrumental technique largely function in a psychological manner to present a false sense of certainty in an unpredictable world. Safety comes at a high price in a technical rational world--contests over whose power and interests matter the most get silenced and ignored, thereby continuing the dominance of established relations of power. Also, as Ellsworth's now classic critique has shown, critical theory's facade of rationality may actually contribute to dominance and oppression in the classroom. The price here in opening up space may be the substitution of one hegemonic practice for another. Our sense is that a starting place for creating safe settings is an ethic of inclusion and protection, even though such a claim is easily dismissable in a slippery postmodern world of raging relativism. Practically, it is actually quite hard to do, particularly if we do not see our roles in creating discipline-based power.

Dilemmas of self-interrogation. A related dilemma is how do we as faculty interrogate our own planning practices for planning and teaching curriculum and program planning courses. The dilemma, of course, is that we want (need?) to retain control over content, grading, and design. But as Gore (1993) has said, what we teach is not what we practice. How do we open up the pedagogical and learning space in the classroom setting itself to problematize our role in the construction of the course itself? Are we willing to renegotiate our power as discipline authorities? And if so, how will such renegotiation unsettle and restructure the underlying social norms shaping classroom community?

One way is to invite participants into the critical process. But in our experience when we invite participants to interrogate our role as faculty and discipline authorities in structuring the classroom, we are usually met with disbelief and at best timid response. Rarely will participants get much beyond posing polite inquiries into why this or that particular segment of the course is structured in the way it is. Further the disbelief may elide into disequilibrium because our invitation to critique undermines the participants' assumptions and expectations of our faculty roles as discipline authorities as well as their own aspirations through the acquisition of discipline knowledge. Because we routinely work with adults with significant life experience managing power relations, we can sometimes create interrogative space. But this leaves unanswered questions of how to construct our own self-interrogation. Tisdell (1993) has shown how the intrusion of the researcher into the classroom can provide opportunities for self-reflection about faculty roles in creating power relations. Even so, questioning our role in creating discipline subjectivities is not easy even when we are cognizant of that role; it is impossible without the kind of analysis we propose here.

Dilemmas of representation. Faculty have many constituencies for their classroom work: learners, employers of learners, adults and children who benefit from the classes and programs that planners plan, our disciplinary and collegiate colleagues at our universities and in our fields, and our own university. Whose interests do we think we are representing in our daily classroom work? Whose interests are we actually representing? Whose interests should we be representing?

It is clear to us that often as faculty we represent in the classroom an uncritical allegiance to the power of our discipline to name the world for others, what Foucault calls a technology of power. Through our construction and transmission of disciplinary knowledge and skill we represent the power of our disciplines. But there are other problems of representation. For example, how do we overcome the myth of the "generic learner" or the "generic planner"? Mohanty (1994) says she is against using analytic categories that present third world women (we would say adults) as a homogenous, undifferentiated group. How do we move people beyond "adult education planning principles" where it is seen as a victory to "involve learners in planning," as if this were the task of adult education, to have learners involved, as opposed to seeing adult education as the struggle for power and meaning. Adults need to be seen as "subjects of struggles in history" (Mohanty, 1994, p. 146), not as the recipients of our attempts to produce discipline definitions of their needs.

Practical Action

This paper has been about naming a problem: how the consumption of disciplinary knowledge leads to recreating dominant relations of power through the practical exercise of that disciplinary knowledge in the classroom and subsequently in planners' work. We have to make transparent in the curriculum itself questions about power if we are to have hope of changing curriculum and programming practice. Once we recognize the consumption of disciplinary knowledge as a force for reproducing dominant relations of power (Larson, 1979), we then have to be clear about our responsibility to allow the foreground to be contested, to loosen our grasp on the classroom itself, in order to see the mechanisms of power at work. As Foucault says, we create subjectivities through disciplinary discourse; discipline and theory thus become mechanisms of power, power used to maintain our professional dominance of educational practice. We have to be unflinchingly willing to, borrowing from Foucault, archeologically pursue this genealogy of power in the classroom. Participants in our classrooms know full well that planning courses operate on two levels: they see what we teach about planning and they also see what we practice about planning. So we must question not only what we say about power but also what we do with and about it in our teaching. This is why we have argued for our responsibility to provide the pedagogical space to deal with power and politics and to locate ourselves in these ongoing struggles. Concluding with dilemmas only gets us to the problem we have yet to face in this paper, if we take this challenge seriously. Now that the creation of power through disciplinary knowledge is no longer hidden, what does our practical action look like in the classroom?

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Myths and Realities: Voices of Japanese Female Graduate Students

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Abstract

This ethnographic study identified sources of misperceptions about Japanese women and offered insight into the concept of Western feminism and the role it plays in these Japanese women's lives in a postmodern, cross-cultural context.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this ethnographic study was to explore learning and metacognitive processes of Japanese women engaged in higher education in North America. The researcher conducted intensive mother tongue interviews with 20 Japanese female graduate students in the United States to pursue a cognitive analysis of the strength and power of Japanese women in a context of cultural and intellectual transition. Through thematic cross-cultural analysis and Japanese discourse analysis the study identifies sources of misperceptions about Japanese women, provides valuable insights for adult educators, and offers insight into the concept of Western feminism and the role it plays in these Japanese women's lives in a postmodern, cross-cultural context. There was clearly a need for this study. There is a dearth of useful research on contemporary Japanese females at a time when their role is changing substantially, both domestically and internationally. Furthermore, there is even less research about the learning processes of Japanese women in Western higher education contexts, although there is no lack of sweeping yet flawed theories of "the Japanese character."

Methodology

The study involved data collection over one year's time with 20 women, ranging in age from 22 to 49 years of age, all previously educated in Japan and now enrolled as graduate students in the United States. All interviews were conducted in Japanese in order to gain access to nuance of language and critical self-analysis. Data analysis included transcription in Japanese, translation into English, and coding using an open coding procedure. Ultimately, findings emerged that fell into four categories: Defining "Strength" and "Power" in Japanese Women; Japanese Discourse and Gender Issues; Myths and Realities; and Participants' Views of Their Own Metacognitive Processes.

Category 1: Defining "Strength" and "Power" in Japanese Women

Participants suggest that while North Americans may view "outer strength" as important, accompanied by overt expressions of power, the Japanese perception of a strong woman emphasizes "inner strength," expressed through indirect displays of character. As one participant noted:

> ***The definition of 'strength' comes from inner strength and endurance. Not outwardly strong. When it comes to adversity, they do not whine and complain. You know the phrase, 'Perseverance brings character.'***

Despite generational differences (ages ranged from 22 to 49 years old), all mentioned that patience, inner strength, and perseverance are Japanese female virtues. Their discipline was described as a "craft spirit." They reported contentment with aspects of their lives when they had experienced success through perseverance, saying “because it builds character.” Participants also provided validation for the concept of *akirame*, or renunciation and resignation. Such stoicism does not necessarily mean to "give up," but implies that one can accommodate an existing reality to a certain extent without excessive complaint. It is similar to the Buddhist concept of “letting go of ego.” Many participants emphasized the importance of being sensible and wise enough to understand human nature, not be consumed with self, and to give others space.

Participants described the exercise of indirect power as proceeding with what one wants to do eventually. Metaphors employed to describe Japanese female indirect power were varied, the bamboo, the willow, and “*gaijyu naigo no hito*” (gentle and subtle but flexible, adjustable, powerful and resilient in survival).

All noted a Japanese female capacity to employ indirectness in the exercise of power to achieve “subtle but powerful” influence. Indirectness for them did not signify insecurity or subjugation, but rather a kind of power, particularly when linked with perseverance. Frequent use was noted of terms such as “slow but steady,” “eventually,” or being “like a turtle,” referencing a rabbit and turtle folktale. Confidence in the exercise of indirect power reflects a kind of security for them since they believe in the power of perseverance. One participant noted:

> *Like water, rapid flow of water in the stream. It connotes a subtle but dynamic power. In a stream it follows the stones' sharp edges only to turn them into pebbles, rounded to conform to its stream lined flow*

Participants resisted simplistic characterizations of Japanese women as “powerless.” Instead, they pointed to many areas of social life where Japanese women dominate. In many Japanese households, for example, a woman receives 100% of her husband's paycheck and then gives him an allowance. The decision on how to allocate and spend the family's money is then mostly made without male input. Many Japanese women, then, have almost total control over financial, social, and educational decisions made in their households.

Participants presented a relativistic argument regarding gender and power distribution in Japanese society. They strongly rejected the notion that Japanese women are universally subjugated. Instead, they pointed with sympathy and compassion to what they view as the problematic nature of many Japanese men's lives. They argued that many Japanese men spend their energy working and sacrificing their personal lives by spending more time with their colleagues and bosses than with their families. Participants expressed compassion for Japanese men for the following reasons: some Japanese women may use men as the "worker bees" of society; many Japanese businessmen are trapped by strict rules, regulations, and unreasonable corporate expectations; socially, Japanese men live in a rigid, complex, bureaucratized society; and Japanese men cannot expand their horizons as freely as Japanese women.

Most participants were willing to acknowledge problems in the Japanese gendered division of labor. They also assigned some responsibility to Japanese women for problematic states of affairs, criticizing those who maintain “co-dependent” relationships with Japanese men, perpetuating situations of inequality that can be destructive of men as of women. Simultaneously, they expressed a desire to fashion a more authentic means of communication and self-understanding, citing these desires as part of their reason for travel to study in the North America. Participants also argued that their own lives as Japanese women are lived in a primarily horizontal society made up of interwoven interpersonal relationships, within which they can develop trusting friendships and employ an emotional intelligence whose importance they emphasized.

Category 2: Japanese Discourse and Gender Issues

Some study participants themselves at times employed the same language forms they critiqued in order to meet invisible social expectations without realizing it, possibly as part of a survival strategy. For example, the use of high -pitched register vocalization, questioning tag endings for many assertions, and indirectness were both critiqued and employed by participants in their discourse. Some participants, on reviewing transcripts of their interviews, asked to delete such expressions as, "Don't you think?" from translations, arguing that "I did not mean to imply any request for approval. It is just a routine no-meaning word." Some also became upset that the researcher at times translated literally from Japanese into English, word for word, for discourse analysis purposes.

All participants displayed complex and indirect communication skills in trying to persuade in a diplomatic and calm manner, even when being asked provocative questions, at times using silence as an effective means of expression. Participants argued that such communication behaviors do not signify lack of strength or resolve. In their communication they do not attempt to "win over" or to clarify to listeners in a vigorous manner. Some even mentioned that it was a waste of time to persuade to those who have their minds set. They reported that they are constantly judging the surrounding situations and adjusting their communication in subtle ways

Category 3: Myths and Realities

Participants displayed considerable critical insight in their analysis of a range of myths and realities about Japanese women. They expressed annoyance when reporting being asked by North Americans, "Are you Americanized?" as if to imply that they were formerly docile without critical minds, or worse, of no intelligence. Furthermore, they talked about the complexities and ironies of gender issues and emphasized the danger of "Orientalism," the damaging over-romanticization and attendant marginalization and disempowerment of Asian cultures by some North Americans.

The emotional impact of shifting from a privileged status in Japan to that of a "lesser," positions while they were away from Japan was also noted, as they were frequently the subject of stereo-types and misperceptions by professors and classmates. They suggested that culturally different value systems (e.g., preference for nuance, reliance on intuition, less use of formal logic, complex multi-layered society, respect for perseverance, and indirectness in power use) would mean for them a different kind of feminism and a different kind of agenda for change in gender relations than what they observe in North America. Whether well versed in gender issues or not, participants felt free to critique a perceived Japanese "feminism" as potentially imitative of American feminism.

Category 4: Participants' Views of their Own Metacognitive Processes

Participants reported observing considerable differences between a non-Euro/American centric way of thinking and a Euro/American way of thinking. They argued that their accommodation of the latter form of thought requires a substantial thought process change in order to become more "linear." Paradoxically, their recognition

Conclusions

The study found the participants struggling with the issue of what it means to be a woman and what it means to be Japanese, as they sought to develop authentic personal identities in a changing cultural context. On the whole, the Japanese women in the study displayed balanced, flexible, and pragmatic thought processes. Unlike some Japanese male scholars who are currently espousing ideologies of "Japanese uniqueness", most participants adopted a more relativistic view, arguing for the acknowledgment that different cultures have different value systems.

They observed that for Japanese women, strength is seen as an inner resource, while in North America they observe women defining strength more outwardly. Another cultural contrast often noted was a Japanese female capacity to employ indirectness in the exercise of power to achieve "subtle but powerful" influence. Indirectness for them did not signify insecurity or subjugation, but rather a kind of power, particularly when linked with perseverance, another attribute they admire.

The study's analysis of Japanese discourse and gender issues identified participants' concerns about Japanese women and problematic language structures and language use deeply tied to gender. The Japanese language is so heavily gendered--in its vocabulary and grammatical structures as well as in its pragmatic functions--that the issue of resisting or changing language use becomes a complex one.

The participants also contribute important thinking on the role of cognitive schemata and thought forms in cross-cultural cognition and learning. They noted that while English rhetoric may be traced to Greek and Latin syllogistic reason, law, and arts of persuasion, Japanese rhetoric and argumentation forms *(ki-sho-ten-ketsu)* originate from Classical Chinese poetry, which places more emphasis on the aesthetic value of nuance, sophistication and refinement in argumentation than the English linear expository form. Here we see, as in several other places, stated emphasis on aesthetics as an important dimension of cognition for these women.

Strong personal pride in Japanese cultural identity was also a clear finding of the study. This pride motivated participants to make regular efforts to maintain their Japanese language skills and cultural practices. Participant pride in cultural identity was balanced with an awareness of the many problems of Japanese cultural and social life, which they were not reticent to criticize. They also observed that pride in one's own identity is an important step in being able to accept and respect others. Most rejected the need to "assimilate" to become more comprehensible to North Americans, nothing that doing so might threaten precious qualities they had developed in themselves over years in Japan. This self-appreciation again displays a strong aesthetic dimension in the thought processes of the participants.

Despite cultural and social differences the Japanese women in this study remained determined to learn North American English forms of communication and English expository writing, and to learn from North American women. This recognition of the diversity that North America holds and the communications that characterize women and the issues they confront across societies suggests that Japanese and American women can learn much from each other about what it means to be a woman as they develop enhanced individual senses of personal truth and identity.

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Development and Validation of an Instrument to Measure Adult Educators' Power and Influence Tactics in Program Planning Practice

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Abstract: This paper reports a study designed to develop and validate an instrument to measure adult educators' power and influence tactics in program planning practice. The results indicate that planning behaviors are measurable and accountable by the planning theory that takes into account organizational political contexts.

Program planning is one of the major tasks for adult education practitioners and considerable efforts have been devoted to theorize the planning practice. Unfortunately, there always exists a gap between theory and practice and this gap has even widened during past decades. Recent studies suggested that program planning can be better understood as a social practice of negotiating power and interests (Cervero & Wilson, 1994, 1996). Researchers have developed theoretical framework that different from conventional planning theory in order to adequately explain program planning practice. Nevertheless, little is known about the planning behaviors of adult educators and, in particular, how planners exercise their power in program planning practice. Thus, it is necessary to examine planners' power and influence tactics (how they exercise power in planning) in order to better understand program planning. Research and theory building in program planning needs a valid instrument of power and influence tactics to assess how planners use their power in developing educational programs for adults.

Instrument Development

The instrument was developed based on a theoretical framework extended from Cervero and Wilson's (1994) negotiation model of program planning (Yang, 1996). Under this theoretical framework, power and influence tactics are viewed as special aspects of planning behaviors. *Power and influence tactics are constructs which reflect certain behavioral patterns in organizational political processes*. A total of eight different influence tactics are identified along the following three dimensions: planning action, power relationship between agent and target, and the relationship among interests in the situation. The eight tactics are: reasoning, consulting, appealing, networking, exchanging, bargaining, pressuring, and counteracting. *Reasoning* tactic refers to the planners' utilization of logic or factual evidence in order to persuade the target that a request is logically congruent with common interests and is also viable. *Consulting* tactic reflects the planner's effort to seek the input and ideas from the target to generate a viable plan in order to meet their common concerns. In employing *appealing* tactics, the planner appeals to the emotions, predispositions, or values of the target, in order to pass a message that a request is not at the cost of the target's interests. *Networking* refers to a tactic by which the planners can bring other parties involved in the program who hold relevant information or authority to gain the support from the target. *Exchanging* is the planner's behavior of offering exchange of favors to convince the target that a proposal can satisfy the needs of both sides, while *Bargaining* reflects the planner's negotiation with the target to reach an agreement that meets their needs. *Pressuring* refers to the planner making direct and forceful demands or threats to the target even through the presence of resistance. *Counteracting* is a tactic by which the planner blocks efforts of the target or acts toward opposite direction.

Item Generation and Refinement

Initial items were generated from three sources: (1) a careful review of literature on adult education program planning, organization theory, training and development, and existing instruments relevant to the topic; (b) in-depth interviews; and (c) brainstorming sessions with graduate students in an adult education program. This process yielded a total of 145 potential items as measures of power and influence tactics. The initial items were examined one by one and 62 themes emerged from the initial 145 item pool. A total of 62 new items measuring power and influence tactics were then constructed corresponding to these themes. In writing items, effort was made to get consistency of item length and sentence pattern; and to write items in a clear language. Review of the item pool brought recognition that the two proposed dimensions of power and influence tactics, *Exchanging* and *Bargaining*, were essentially the same concept and there were not sufficient items to measure them separately. A decision was made to merge these two dimensions into one dimension of *Bargaining* in subsequent stages of the study. As a consequence, seven dimensions were the focus of this research. Two critique sessions were conducted to refine these items. Six adult educators with various backgrounds participated in each of the sessions. After a comprehensive review of the comments from the critique sessions, a decision was made to add four more items, resulting in a total of 66 items in the item pool.

The next stage focused on assessing whether this specific set of items reflects a common domain of power and influence tactics. Two Q-sort sessions with 14 advanced doctoral students in adult education were then conducted to get preliminary evidence of content validity for the 66 items. The first Q-sort results indicated that most of the items were assigned correctly to the dimensions which they were written by the majority of the participants. However, a total of 29 incorrectly assigned items were identified for review and revision. Twenty-two of the items were changed to some extent and seven items remained unchanged. A second Q-sort session was conducted for the changed items with the same participants as the first sorting session. The results of the second round sorting suggested that a considerable number of the modified items have been assigned correctly to the designated dimension. However, six items were discarded, which had similar meanings to other items that had been judged to be adequate. This evaluation process demonstrated that the resulting 60 items included in the instrument adequately reflect the content domain of power and influence tactics used in program planning practice.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted to provide information about the adequacy of the instrument. Students who enrolled in an adult education graduate program served as the pilot study sample and a total of 102 valid responses were collected. Item analysis was used to determine the adequacy of the items in terms of measuring the designated dimensions in an internally consistent way. The item discrimination index was examined for each item included in the scale. Generally speaking, an item that correlates substantially with the collection of remaining items on that sub-dimension discriminates subjects adequately on the measures of the construct. Those items with low values of discrimination were candidates for further revision or deletion. The item analysis indicated that six of the seven proposed dimensions had acceptable reliability estimates (coefficient alpha ranged from .830 to .888) while the dimension of *Networking* with four items showed a relatively low reliability estimate ($\alpha = .643$). A new item was added to improve the reliability for *Networking*. The wordings of seven items were modified based on the results of item analysis. Thus, a total of 61 items of power and influence tactics were included in the instrument after the pilot study.

Instrument Validation Study

The revised 61-item instrument was administered to a sample of program planners in adult education for the purpose of assessing its validity and reliability. A total number of 226 responses from adult educators working in four different institutional contexts were used in the study and served as the sample for validation study.

Methods

Several techniques were utilized to determine a final form of the instrument with adequate psychometric properties and with demonstrable construct validity. Construct validity refers to the extent to which a scale developer can assure exactly what the instrument is measuring. In this study confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was selected to assess the construct validity for the measure of power and influence tactics. This technique was used to verify the adequacy of the item to factor associations and the number of dimensions underlying the construct (Bollen, 1989). Jöreskog (1993) suggests three methods for testing measurement and structural equation models: strictly confirmatory (SC), alternative models (AM), and model generating (MG). The present study followed Jöreskog's (1993) suggestion by testing alternative models and model generating to determine the construct validity for the instrument.

Power and influence tactics are constructs that researchers postulate to reflect planners' political behavior in organizations. The empirical evidence of interrelations among constructs provides a means for establishing and validating the theoretical frameworks in social science research. The theoretical relations among the concepts of interest, or interlocking system of lawful relations, has been referred to as a nomological network by Cronbach and Meehl (1955). For the current study the nomological networks between planners' behavior measured on the proposed scale and organizational political contexts was examined. Two variables, power base and type of interests, were constructed to establish a nomological net between planning behaviors and political contexts. The method of structural equation modeling (SEM) was used to examine the relationship between planning behaviors and political contexts. Two organizational contextual variables, *Type of Interests* and *Power Base*, served as exogenous variables and the seven influence tactics dimensions were the endogenous variables.

Alternative Measurement Models

The construct validity for the measures of power and influence tactics were first examined by alternative measurement models. Four competing measurement models were formulated and tested. The first was a null model where no common latent variable was assumed to exist among the observed variables. The second model assumed one factor underlies the observed variables and that the covariations among the observed variables could be adequately explained by a single construct of power and influence tactic. This model assumed that power and influence tactic is a unidimensional concept. The third model hypothesized four latent constructs for the measures in the instrument and these four constructs correspond to the four planning situations. This model assumed that only one power and influence tactic could be identified for each of four planning situations (Cervero & Wilson, 1994). The fourth model consisted of seven latent variables representing seven proposed dimensions of the construct.

Following Bollen and Long (1993), a set of fit indices were select to evaluate the alternative measurement models. The CFA results indicated that the proposed seven-factor model fit the data best among the alternative models examined. The seven-factor model accounted for nearly sixty percent of item variances and covariances as the goodness-of-fit index (GFI) equals to .597. The root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA) was .086 and the p-value associated for testing a close fit was .327. In other words, we failed to reject the null hypothesis that the seven factor measurement model was an acceptable approximation of the population.

Model Generation

During the instrument development process, twice as many items as needed were developed for each proposed construct. Consequently, there was a need to validate the form of the instrument by including only those items that most accurately represented the designated dimensions from statistical and substantive viewpoints. A MG method (Jöreskog, 1993) was employed to retain those representative items in the final form of the instrument. The objective of this process was to retain a set of representative items for the dimensions of the construct, and to approximate simple structure as closely as possible while maintaining the original theoretical structure. Items were deleted until an acceptably fitting model was obtained.

A total of 30 items were deleted from the scale one-by-one using the MG process. The remaining 31 items constituted the *Power and Influence Tactics Scale (POINTS)*. The CFA results suggested that these 31 items composed an acceptable measurement model for the proposed seven factor structure of power and influence tactics. The GFI reached .814, indicating that more than 80% of items variances and covariances could be explained by the proposed seven dimension factor structure. Although the χ^2 test was still statistically significant, the χ^2 value per degree of freedom was somewhat reduced (from 2.668 to 2.211). The root mean square residual (RMR) decreased from .116 to .072. The value of RMSEA (.072) suggested that the refined 31 items had represented a very reasonable measurement model for the proposed seven dimensions of power and influence tactics, following Browne and Cudeck's (1993) criteria for model fit. All of the 31 retained items loaded on their designated factors with strong associations.

The coefficient alpha for seven proposed dimensions ranged from .629 to .821. It is worth noting that although the number of measurement items in the refined instrument had been dramatically decreased, the reliability estimates were not appreciably lower than that estimated for the original version of the instrument. Overall, the refined instrument showed acceptable reliability estimates for the seven proposed dimensions of power and influence tactics.

Nomological Network

The first form of evidence used in testing validity in the nomological network involved assessing the convergent and discriminant validity of the scale. Table 1 presents the estimates of correlations among the seven latent variables. The correlation results suggested that the direction and magnitude of the correlations among the seven proposed dimensions were congruent with what had been implied by the planning theory. The congruence between the correlation of the seven factors in empirical data and that implied by the theory could be examined in at least three ways. First, planning behaviors that had been presumed to be more likely to be used in a particular organizational situation were strongly correlated. The relevant correlation coefficients were: *Reasoning* with *Consulting* (.650), *Appealing* with *Networking* (.323), and *Pressuring* with *Counteracting* (.725). Second, planning behaviors that were supposed to be used in different organizational situations were weakly or even negatively correlated. For instance, *Reasoning* and *Consulting* were hypothesized to be more likely to be used in a consensus situation with symmetric power relation, while *Pressuring* and *Counteracting* were more likely to be used in a conflict situation under asymmetric power relationship. It was reasoned that there should be no significant positive correlations between these two sets of factors. The results presented in the Table 1 support this line of reasoning. Third, the correlations between these behaviors hypothesized to be used in the same organizational political situation (e.g., *Reasoning* and *Consulting*) were greater than the correlations between those behaviors that had been supposed to be used in different political situations (e.g., *Reasoning* and *Bargaining*). For example, the correlation coefficient between *Reasoning* and *Consulting* (.650) was greater than the coefficients between *Reasoning* and most of the other five dimensions (ranging from -.142 to .285) except for the correlation with *Appealing* (.678). Similarly, the correlation coefficient between *Consulting* and *Reasoning* (.650) was greater than the coefficients between *Consulting* and most of the other five dimensions (ranging from-.450 to .189) except the correlation with *Appealing* (.708). Following Campbell and Fiske's (1959) conceptual reasoning, the above interpretations about the correlation coefficients of the seven dimensions showed supporting evidence of convergent and discriminant validity for the measures included in the study.

Table 1 Estimates of Disattenuated Inter-Correlations Among Seven Proposed Constructs

	Reasoning	*Consulting*	*Appealing*	*Networking*	*Bargaining*	*Pressuring*
Reasoning	1.000					
Consulting	.650	1.000				
Appealing	.678	.708	1.000			
Networking	.285	.153	.323	1.000		
Bargaining	.056*	.189	.584	.346	1.000	
Pressuring	.130*	-.158*	.288	.456	.477	1.000
Counteracting	-.142*	-.450	-.107*	.383	.329	.725

* not significant at p < .05 level.

The second form of evidence used in testing validity in the nomological network involved examining the relationships between the seven dimensions and the two measures of the political context (Power Base and Type of Interests). The results of SEM suggested that a majority of the relationships between political context and power and influence tactics were in the direction hypothesized by the planning theory. Two middle columns in Table 2 illustrate the standardized structural coefficients in the structural equation model.

Table 2 Structural Coefficients and Square Multiple Correlations for Seven Influence Tactics

Endogenous Variable	Exogenous Variable		Squared Multiple Correlation
	Conflicting	Power Base	
Reasoning	-.485*	-.315*	.247
Consulting	-.515*	-.191*	.246
Appealing	-.403*	-.163*	.151
Networking	.070	-.327*	.125
Bargaining	-.132	.049	.024
Pressuring	.096	-.040	.013
Counteracting	.310*	-.141*	.141

* p < .05.

Three planning behaviors, *Reasoning*, *Consulting*, and *Appealing*, were negatively affected by conflicting interests, while the other two dimensions, *Pressuring* and *Counteracting*, were positively influenced by the degree of conflict. Five of the seven proposed power and influence tactics tended to be influenced by the degree of conflicting interests in the hypothesized direction. As is was anticipated, *Reasoning*, *Consulting*, and *Appealing* were less likely to be used and *Pressuring* and *Counteracting* were more likely to be used under the high degree of conflicting interests. Two planning behaviors, *Networking* and *Bargaining*, were found to be influenced by the degree of conflicting interests not in the hypothesized direction and the influence was not statistically significant. In sum, organizational conflict showed effects on five of seven planning tactics in the direction implied by the program planning theory.

Power relationships, as measured as the respondent's perceived power base in relation with the target person, had significant effects on five dimensions. Four planning behaviors that are hypothesized to be more likely to be used in asymmetric power relation are: *Appealing, Networking, Pressuring*, and *Counteracting*. In fact, *Pressuring* and *Counteracting* were negatively affected by *Power Base,* while *Bargaining* was slightly positively affected by the planner's *Power Base*. The *Networking* behavior was inversely affected by the planner's *Power Base* to a greater extent than the behaviors of *Reasoning* and *Consulting*. Among the seven planning behaviors measured in the current instrument, only *Reasoning* seemed to be affected by *Power Base* in a different direction to that implied by planning theory. The results of the study indicated that *Reasoning* was negatively affected by the planner's *Power Base*. The less *Power Base* the planners had, the more likely they were to use tactics of *Networking, Reasoning, Consulting* and *Appealing*. The fact that *Reasoning* was one of the most effective tactics under asymmetrical power relations appears to be logical. This is because planners have to use logic, facts or other rational ways to influence the target when the planners hold less of a power base. In such situations, the planners tend to use the tactics *Pressuring* and *Counteracting* to voice their concerns, and they also have to use *Reasoning* tactic in order to carry out the planning.

The last column of Table 2 presents the squared multiple correlations for the seven endogenous [dependent] variables. These squared multiple correlations can be interpreted as the proportion of variance of the planning behaviors accounted for by the two exogenous [predictor] variables. This is similar to the meaning of R-square in multiple regression analysis. The SEM results indicated that nearly one-quarter of the variation in the planning behaviors measured on the sub-scales of *Reasoning* and *Consulting* could be explained by the two political contextual variables, *Conflicting* and *Power Base*. More than ten percent of the variations of *Appealing, Networking*, and *Counteracting* behaviors could be accounted for by the political contexts (ranging from 12% to 15%). However, a very low amount of the variation of *Bargaining* and *Pressuring* behaviors was affected by the political contexts (one to two percent). It is therefore concluded that the planning behaviors of *Reasoning* and *Consulting* reflect relatively simple power and influence tactics and show the strongest association with the political contexts.

Discussion and Implications

This study is a first attempt to develop an instrument to assess planning behaviors from the perspective that planning is essentially a social activity. As the results showed encouraging evidence of reliability and validity for the instrument, the instrument will provide a useful tool for future research in program planning. The study provides evidence that planning behaviors are measurable and accountable by the planning theory that takes into account organizational power and influence. Although the current study attempts to measure program practice only from the perspective of power and influence, the results of the study will encourage other researchers to study planning practice from different perspectives and thus enhance theory-building about program planning. This study opens up new directions for future study and theory-building in program planning. The parsimonious pattern of power and influence tactics revealed in the study and its relationship to organizational contexts offer valuable and practical strategies for planners.

(Note: References available upon request)